47

PRESBYTERIANS

IN

COLONIAL PENNSYLVANIA

By GUY SOULLIARD KLETT

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To

My Wife

CATHARINE R. KLETT

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PREFACE

Since the emphasis of numerous historical works on American colonial life has been placed upon the political and economic activities of the colonists, this work seeks to direct attention to the significant part played by one group of adherents to Christianity. Although there are numerous works that portray the religious history of the colonists, a large number of these studies have been written by clergymen who have recounted the religious developments along constitutional and doctrinal lines to which the clergymen made the major contributions. Undoubtedly the splendid leadership and unstinted sacrifice of the clergy in furthering religious movements must not be overlooked in any consideration of human progress. But the records reveal that another group was essential to these developments; namely, the congregations. Hence it is the purpose of this work to portray along with the activities of Presbyterian ministers the responsiveness of Presbyterian congregations in the extension of religious influences within the province of Pennsylvania.

Some comment upon what this study includes under the term "Presbyterian" is needful. In the first place the term is not as inclusive as one that is used to describe Presbyterians, namely, "Calvinist." Such groups as Congregationalists, German Reformed, and Dutch Reformed, although Calvinistic in doctrine, are not included as Presbyterians even though that term was occasionally applied to them by some of the colonial writers. The term "Presbyterian" includes that group who formed religious societies on the doctrinal and governmental foundations laid down by the Westminster divines in the middle of the seventeenth century. Although this study is con-

cerned with that large group of Presbyterians of Pennsylvania who through their ministers and elders formed the Synod of Philadelphia and later the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, some space is devoted to the activities of both the Associate Presbyterians and Reformed Presbyterians who, although quite active, were not so numerous.

For purposes of continuity it is needful to retrace the history of European movements that significantly influenced Presbyterian developments in colonial Pennsylvania. The Protestant Revolution, commonly called the Reformation, was not so distantly removed that its religious significance had been lost to the people of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was not until the middle of the seventeenth century that Presbyterian doctrine had been adequately formulated by the Westminster divines. In the eighteenth century the Bible and the Westminster Confession of Faith were still regarded as the foundations of the spiritual and intellectual life of the family, the essential unit of colonial society. In this same century the denominational lines were so sharply defined that political groups were designated according to the religious affiliations of the individuals. It is, therefore, quite apparent that the religious influence played an important part in both European and American life. Whereas many authorities have characterized the motives for the migration of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians as primarily economic, it must not be overlooked that both political and economic disabilities arose as a result of the unfaltering devotion of many Presbyterians to their religious convictions during their stay in Ireland.

The presentation of European antecedents has been based upon authoritative secondary works. But at times the source material has been called into use to verify the emphasis that has been given to movements as being Presbyterian in character. In like manner the author has depended upon some of the valuable monographic studies for the constitutional developments of Presbyterianism in America but, as the footnotes will

indicate, not to the extent of disregarding the source material.

The major portion of the work dealing with Presbyterian establishments in Pennsylvania has been prepared from the existing manuscript material. The dates that appear with the names of Presbyterian establishments have been taken chiefly from available records of presbyteries rather than from traditional dates that cannot be verified because of the lack of adequate sources. The dates do not always indicate that the congregation was organized at that time. In most instances the date is solely indicative of the first time that the name of the Presbyterian settlement appeared on the records of presbytery. The records do not always reveal whether or not an organized congregation existed at the time the request for ministerial supplies was received. Since the official organization could not be accomplished without an ordained minister, it is likely that congregations were not formed until some time after these first appeals came for ministerial supplies.

Special emphasis has been placed upon the part that sessions and presbyteries played in ordering Presbyterian society, especially on the frontier, where it was the sole agency for regulating the life and conduct of the frontiersmen. Although there are many instances of transgression, much valuable work was done to maintain order. That great modern statesman, Thomas G. Masaryk, in commenting upon the significance of religious foundations in the life of the American Republic, stated: "Inadequate means of communication, in a huge, sparsely peopled territory, precluded effective control from one administrative centre. Hence, through their organizations, the various religious communities and churches acquired great importance as elements of cohesion."

Although the part that Presbyterians played in the political affairs of the colony has been carried to the threshold of the American Revolution, no attempt has been made to show the part that Presbyterians played in that conflict. This field of Presbyterian activity in Pennsylvania is one of such scope and

importance that it requires a separate study to deal with it adequately.

The customary practice of the presbyteries to refer to the places of settlement by the names of the streams along which Presbyterians settled has made the use of maps indispensable. The author is indebted to the Department of Forests and Waters of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania for permission to trace the courses of those streams that appear on the maps included in this work, from the Stream Map of Pennsylvania. The generous coöperation of Dr. William P. Finney and Miss Matilda H. Turner of the Presbyterian Historical Society, and of Miss Mary M. Townsend and Miss Catharine H. Miller of the Manuscript Department of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in providing access to the documents has been of invaluable service in the collection of material for this work. Many friends who have furnished information from original sources have aided immeasurably in the preparation of this monograph. The assistance of my wife in the gathering of material and in the preparation of the manuscript and of the index has been of inestimable value. The suggestions of Dr. William W. Sweet, of the University of Chicago, who criticized the outline, and the constructive criticisms of Dr. Lewis S. Mudge, Stated Clerk of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., of Dr. Frederick W. Loetscher, of Princeton Theological Seminary, of Dr. Thomas C. Pears, Jr., of the Department of History of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., and of Mr. Charles B. Montgomery, of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania—all of whom read the manuscript, and for whose guidance the author is indeed thankful—have added materially to the value of this work. For the publication of this monograph the author is especially grateful to Dr. Thomas C. Pears, Jr., to Dr. Harold McAfee Robinson, of the Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, and to Mr. Julian P. Boyd, of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, for their efforts in that direction, and

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G. S. K.

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I

EUROPEAN ANTECEDENTS

INTRODUCTION

As the decades of the seventeenth century rolled by, the activities of various European governments in the religious life of the people brought about many changes in the fortunes of men. The prevalence of religious differences within these European countries as a result of the Reformation soon affected the welfare of many individuals who were unwilling to bear with the limitations placed on their enjoyment of worshiping according to the dictates of conscience. The enjoyment of religious freedom, however, was decidedly curtailed in the interest of conformity in religion as championed by the governments of Europe in behalf of some particular religious establishment. When argument and money failed to obtain uniformity in the religious life of a state, coercion became the customary means of overcoming resistance. And the persecutor lost sight of Christ's admonitions for compassion and charity in the zeal that he exercised in behalf of the established religion. Within the various European states from which Presbyterians came to Pennsylvania the policies to secure conformity were about as malignant within the divergent ranks of Protestantism as they were between Catholic and Protestant.

When occasional relaxations in the severity of the persecutions brought some relief to nonconforming congregations, nature seemed allied with the persecutors in making the lot of the oppressed even worse. Cold winters and famines added

not only to the discomforts, but also to the suffering that increased destitution and despair. In the face of such forces the only escape which conscience would allow, in the case of some of the persecuted, was emigration. But before they left the mother country, the scars of harrowing experiences had become quite deep. When they finally severed the homeland ties, the way, although devious, led to a land awaiting the labors of an uncrushed ambition and energy. Many were grateful for such an escape for religious reasons, while many others saw in the promise of new lands a road to adventure and riches.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, Presbyterian doctrine had been definitely formulated by the Westminster divines in the Confession of Faith, the Catechisms, the Directory for worship, and the Form of Church Government along Calvinistic lines. These tenets during the next hundred years became deeply rooted in many adherents of Presbyterianism before disillusioned thousands began their exodus to the New World. The similarity of doctrine between the Calvinists of the mainland of Europe and the Presbyterians of the British Isles made the union of forces possible when these two groups arrived in Pennsylvania. Thus it happened that adherents of the Reformed Faith helped to increase the numerical strength of Presbyterians in Pennsylvania.

Those regions that were the major sources of adherents to the Reformed Faith were the German Palatinate, the Netherlands, and France. Relatively speaking, however, the recruits of Presbyterianism from these lands were decidedly fewer than were those from the British Isles. How many of these people joined the Presbyterians of Pennsylvania remains obscure. Although it is a well-known fact that German and Dutch emigrants of Calvinistic principles maintained their membership in the German and Dutch Reformed congregations, care must be exercised in asserting that many joined the ranks of Presbyterians in Pennsylvania. But exist-

ing lists of Church members of colonial times reveal that some of these newcomers enrolled as Presbyterians wherever the ministrations of their own denominations were lacking. The records also reveal that not a few French Calvinists became Presbyterians. The major portion of Presbyterians, however, came from the British Isles, particularly from Scotland and Ulster in northern Ireland.

GERMAN PALATINATE

The devastation wrought by the Thirty Years' War among the German provinces continued to beset the German Palatinate during the reign of Louis XIV. This powerful king of France, in an effort to weaken the coalition plan of his enemies and to satisfy his ambition to increase the French possessions, resorted to ruthless methods of destruction in the Rhine Valley. If he sought to justify his own actions on religious grounds, he had recourse to the excuse that these people had provided a haven for the persecuted Huguenots who had fled from France. During the period of the French occupation of the Palatinate the French government reestablished places of worship for the Catholics at the expense of the Protestants in violation of the Treaty of Westphalia. Destructive incursions by the French brought the inhabitants of the Rhine Valley to the verge of despair and material ruin in the latter part of the seventeenth century and the early part of the eighteenth century.[1] Misgovernment, religious disorders, and the "Cold Winter" of 1708–1709 in Württemberg added to the distress and suffering of an already distracted and harassed people, and served as sufficient cause for emigration.[2]

[1] *Cambridge Modern History,* V, 453, 672; E. F. Henderson, *A Short History of Germany,* II, 58–60; H. L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century,* II, 490–491.

[2] *Cambridge Modern History,* V, 664; L. F. Bittinger, *The Germans in Colonial Times,* 17–19, 61–64; A. B. Faust, *The Germans in the United States,* p. 3.

THE NETHERLANDS

In the year that William Penn received the grant of land from Charles II, the worst phases of the devastation in the Netherlands had passed with the defeat of the Spanish plan of subjection. However, upon Penn's arrival on the shores of the Delaware he found Dutch settlers as well as English and Swedes on the western banks of that river. These Dutch settlers as well as those who came after 1682 were not the victims of a protracted religious persecution in the homeland, as was the case with practically all of the other nationals who entered the Presbyterian ranks in Pennsylvania. The worst period of their religious persecution had passed with the expulsion of the Spaniards in the early part of the seventeenth century.

But even the Netherlands could not completely escape the ravages of the marching armies of Louis XIV during the period of his reign.[3] Although the hardships produced by invasion may have joined forces with the desire for carrying on trade and securing tillable land as inducements leading to emigration, it is difficult to determine to what degree the Dutch who enrolled with Presbyterians in Pennsylvania came from the homeland or from earlier Dutch settlements in New York and elsewhere. Nevertheless, Dutch membership and influence were not insignificant within the ranks of Presbyterians.[4]

FRANCE UNDER LOUIS XIV

In the countries already dealt with in this discussion it has been observed that Louis XIV created much of the suffering and unrest in Europe beyond the borders of France. Likewise much of the distress among the Protestants of France was due to his policy of persecution against the religious dissenters who

[3] *Cambridge Modern History,* V, 40–42, 397.

[4] J. Fiske, *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies,* I, 116; "Memoirs of the Presbyterian Church of Neshaminy," *Journal of the Department of History of the Presbyterian Church,* II, 222; *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* p. 15.

had been enjoying a large degree of toleration since the granting of the Edict of Nantes.

When Henry IV restored religious peace in France by the Edict of Nantes, signed in April 1598, the cause of French Protestantism looked hopeful. By this edict the Huguenots were assured freedom of worship and civil equality with the Catholics by admission to public employment. Furthermore, they were granted political and military concessions as a safeguard against persecution.[5] But it was not long until the growing activities of the Huguenots in creating a formidable political party in the central, southern, and southeastern parts of the kingdom aroused the suspicion of the government, and placed the cause of the Huguenots in jeopardy. Richelieu, minister for Louis XIII, working to strengthen the monarchy, took steps to undermine the Huguenot party. Subsequently the crushing of an uprising of some Protestant chiefs broke up the political power of the Huguenots by 1630.[6] Although the royal declarations of 1643 and 1652, confirming the Edict of Nantes, had been made, it was not long after the accession of Louis XIV to the throne of France that the Huguenots began to feel the pressure of royal disfavor.

Several causes worked to undermine any objection to a policy of persecuting the Protestants that Louis might have harbored during the early years of his reign. His own religious motive, coupled "with his vanity, impelled him towards the establishment of religious unity." [7] Supporting his ambitious program was the *Assembly of the Clergy* of France. The French clergy, distinguished by able and learned men, regarded the Edict of Nantes as heretical, and appealed to the king to revoke it or to restrict its interpretation to the narrowest limits in the interests of unity.[8] Motivated by these impel-

[5] C. Guignebert, *A Short History of the French People,* II, 49.
[6] *Ibid.,* II, 71–72.
[7] *Cambridge Modern History,* V, 21.
[8] *Ibid.,* V, 21; Guignebert, *op. cit.,* II, 116.

ling forces, the government resorted to a series of repressive measures that culminated in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in October 1685.[9]

Thousands of persecuted Huguenots, artisans and agriculturists, sought safety in flight to Switzerland, Holland, the Scandinavian countries, the German provinces, and the British Isles. From these lands Huguenots made their way to the English colonies in America. As early as 1686 Primate Boyle, writing from Dublin, stated that "many of the poor persecuted French Protestants in the West of this kingdom are, as we are informed, transporting themselves into Pennsylvania, for they say, they dare not stay here in this country, lest their own King should find them here, and they had rather go anywhere or die, than to be brought again under his severities. . . ." [10] Recently a historian stated that "with the possible exception of South Carolina none of the thirteen colonies received so large a number of French settlers as did Pennsylvania and this is especially true of the Huguenots." [11] Available membership lists of Presbyterian congregations in Pennsylvania reveal that some of the Huguenots joined Presbyterian ranks.

That other provinces of the European mainland may have sent forth adherents of Calvinism who found their way to the religious gatherings of Pennsylvania Presbyterians is quite likely. But since the information is too scanty to speak with any degree of certainty, and the proportion of such individuals was too small to assume a significant rôle in Presbyterian affairs in comparison with the influence exerted by the three major groups just treated, mere mention of the possibility is made.

[9] *Cambridge Modern History,* V, 3, 23–24; Guignebert, *op. cit.,* II, 117–119.

[10] *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde* (New Series), VII, 424.

[11] W. F. Dunaway, "The French Racial Strain in Colonial Pennsylvania," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* LIII, 323.

THE BRITISH ISLES (EXCEPT IRELAND)

As the British Isles were the source of Pilgrim, Puritan, Quaker, Baptist, and Anglican who made their way to America, so they were the chief source of Presbyterian adherents. To a lesser degree than the Scotch-Irish of Ulster the English, the Scotch, and the Welsh Presbyterians influenced the course of Presbyterian affairs in Pennsylvania. Again the conditions in the homeland determined the extent of their migration to Pennsylvania.

The ascendancy of the Presbyterian influence in England in the middle of the seventeenth century found expression, not only in the religious thought of the age as embodied in the work of the Westminster Assembly, but also in the political life of that period since Parliamentary sanction temporarily sustained their cause. Independency, however, championed by Cromwell, soon curtailed Presbyterian activity. And it was not until the Restoration of the Stuarts that Presbyterianism regained an influential position among the nonconformists in England.

Following the accession of Charles II, Parliament entered upon a policy of entrenchment in behalf of the Established Church to the discomfiture of the nonconformists, among whose ranks the Presbyterians were numerous. A series of measures were enacted in this program against the nonconformists in the form of the Corporation Act of 1661, the Act of Uniformity of 1662, the Conventicle Act of 1664, and the Five Mile Act of 1665. These acts reacted on both nonconformist laymen and ministers by depriving them of the right of holding municipal offices; by prohibiting assemblies of nonconformists, for purposes of worship, in groups of more than four; by allowing only ministers who had received Episcopal ordination and had taken the oaths of non-resistance, of conformity, and of renunciation of the Covenant to perform

the holy offices of the Church; and by forbidding nonconforming ministers to approach within five miles of the communities which they had previously served.[12] The Act of 1673 enlarged on the Corporation Act by excluding from all public offices dissenters who refused to receive Communion according to the rites of the Established Church. Despite the fact that this act was primarily directed against the Roman Catholics, Protestant dissenters were subject to its enforcement.[13] Although Charles II cared little for the English Church, he cared even less for nonconformity. And this dislike was an incentive to the enforcement of the penal laws against the nonconformists.

When James II came to the throne, the severity of the aforesaid measures was modified in the interests of the Roman Catholics, to whom he was well disposed. Such lenity in the execution of the acts worked to the advantage of the dissenters as well; but not to the extent that it hindered the combination of the forces of the Established Church and of nonconformity in extending an invitation to William III of Orange to become ruler in the interest of the liberties of the people. William's acceptance of this invitation and his subsequent arrival in England with adequate support resulted in the flight of James II.[14] The ascendancy of William and Mary to the English throne brought respite to nonconformists by the introduction of a policy of toleration. But Parliament granted only "a conditional toleration by the exercise of a parliamentary dispensing power." Dissenters, by taking the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and by declaring against transubstantiation, were freed from those statutes which required church attendance. And ministers who also subscribed to the Thirty-nine Articles with certain omissions were freed from the penalties

[12] W. Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, I, 274–277; Lodge, *The History of England from the Restoration to the Death of William III*, 69, 225; Briggs, *American Presbyterianism*, p. 86.

[13] Briggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 83–86.

[14] Traill, *Social England*, IV, 354–355.

of the acts of Uniformity, Conventicles, and Five Mile.[15] But municipal, civil, and military offices remained closed to dissenters.

Anne, who succeeded William, favored the Tory cause and conformity. Since moderate dissenters, whose nonconformity rested on the form of worship, or on a disagreement of petty details in church discipline or doctrine, had no serious scruples against entering an Anglican church occasionally to receive the sacrament from an Anglican clergyman, efforts to stop this occasional conformity resulted in an Occasional Conformity Act of 1711. By this act a nonconformist would forfeit a public trust if he had attended a conventicle within a year. Furthermore, the Schism Act of 1714 directed the government's attack against the seminaries of dissenters and against the means employed by them in the education of their children in their religious principles.[16] Although the Occasional Conformity and Schism acts were repealed by 1718, magistrates who wore their ensigns of office to a meetinghouse were liable to be disqualified from holding public office. Thereafter the policy of the government towards dissenters was one of moderation. But it was not until 1727 that the government began the enactment of indemnity legislation which admitted a large number of dissenters to public offices. After these enactments the nonconformists lived "with fair contentment for a century and a half. But it must never be forgotten that they received far less than James had offered and than William was eager to give them." [17]

Not only did the English Presbyterians feel the heavy hand of repression, but the Welsh and Scotch Presbyterians along with other dissenters in these sections were forced to submit to the governmental policy. The alternative was emigration. For the Welsh Presbyterians who came to Pennsylvania the Great

[15] Lodge, *op. cit.*, p. 310.
[16] Lecky, *op. cit.*, I, 100–103.
[17] *Ibid.*, I, 281; Lodge, *op. cit.*, 311.

Valley in Chester County was the chief region of settlement.[18] The force of prelatical agitation and enactment against the dissenters was likewise active in Scotland until the time of William and Mary. Fines, confiscation, and even death were the penalties for the violation of the Conventicle Act of 1670. During the periods of persecution some of the Scotch Presbyterians fled to colonial America, but the Scotch element influential in the Presbyterian Church in Pennsylvania came mainly by way of Ireland. Furthermore, Presbyterian interests in Scotland became definitely entrenched during the reign of William and Mary when the Presbyterian Church was reestablished as the Church of Scotland.[19] Thus the religious cause for the migration of the Presbyterians of Scotland was removed.

THE SCOTCH-IRISH FROM IRELAND

Since the Scotch-Irish—native Scotch who established themselves in Ireland during the seventeenth century—formed the largest element within the Presbyterian Church in the province of Pennsylvania, it is expedient to devote considerable space to the activities of this racial element. The term Scotch-Irish will be used to designate these people, although the term did not find ready acceptance among them in the seventeenth century. By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, the term had appeared in the writings of the time. James Logan referred to them as Scotch-Irish as early as 1730 in a communication to Thomas Penn.[20]

[18] Browning, *Welsh Settlements in Pennsylvania,* pp. 21–22; *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* pp. 15 ff.

[19] Lodge, *op. cit.,* pp. 196, 333–335; Ford, *op. cit.,* pp. 154, 177; Hanna, *The Scotch-Irish,* I, 559; Briggs, *op. cit.,* p. 86.

[20] Logan Papers, Letter Books, III, 334. On October 11, 1728 the Rev. William Becket wrote: "The first settlers of this [Sussex County, Delaware] County were for the far greatest part originally English, some few however there are of Dutch families, but of late years great Numbers of Irish (who usually call themselves Scotch-Irish), have transported themselves & their families from the North Ireland. . . ." C. H. B. Turner Papers.

The transplantation of Ulster by the Scotch was a movement simultaneous with the English colonization of America. With the migration of the English to Virginia and the Scotch to Ireland, Great Britain was confronted with a new aspect in the movement of its population, which grew in proportion as the century progressed. The first phase of this study is concerned with the migration of the Scotch to Ireland in the seventeenth century; the second, with their subsequent migration from Ireland to Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century.

James I, disturbed by the lawlessness of some of the Irish landholders in the northern part of Ireland, took steps to crush them. The threatened dispossession led some of the rebellious to seek personal safety in flight. The king seized the escheated lands, and disposed of them to Scottish and English "undertakers" who agreed to provide settlers for the lands. When the time of transplanting of the population arrived, the hardy settlers consisted mainly of Scotch Presbyterians and English Puritans. The former, however, were the more numerous.[21] The regions opened for these settlers under the great colonization scheme instituted by James I in 1610 included primarily the six northern counties of Londonderry, Donegal, Tyrone, Cavan, Armagh, and Fermanagh. It has been estimated that by 1620 between 30,000 and 40,000 Scotch settlers had established themselves in the six above-mentioned counties and in Down and Antrim. The claim has been made that by 1641 approximately 100,000 Scotch and 20,000 English had reached Ulster, and that three-fourths of the seventeenth-century settlers in northern Ireland were Presbyterian in doctrine.[22]

During the first hundred years of this transformation of northern Ireland these settlers underwent a series of experi-

[21] Croskery, *Irish Presbyterianism,* p. 7; Ford, *op. cit.,* p. 37.

[22] Hanna, *op. cit.,* I, 504, 559; Ford, *ibid.,* p. 37; J. S. Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland,* I, 90 n.; Osgood, *op. cit.,* II, 515. This colonization, however, did not result in the dispossession of all the native Irish in the north of Ireland.

ences that served to encourage the maintenance of an unbroken racial entity and the development of strong Presbyterian organizations and communities. Among these settlements Presbyterian ministers made their appearance at an early date to promote the religious life of these settlers. By 1660 there were sixty-eight Presbyterian ministers, of whom all but one were in Ulster. Only seven of this number conformed to the Established Church. The nonconformity of such a large group was regarded as a disturbance to the peace of the realm.[23] Wentworth declared that the Ulster Scots were the great obstacle to his plans of conformity and unity in Ireland. Under such disfavor Scotch Presbyterians were forced to combat the moves of the Established Church Party and the Parliamentarians to obtain conformity until the overthrow of the Stuarts. Being intruders, these Ulster Scots also found their safety endangered by the hostility of the native Irish. These adverse conditions did much to promote a religious and racial unity. Although the repression of the Scottish occupation of Ulster was contemplated during the Cromwellian period, it was not put in execution; and the cause of Presbyterians advanced during the time that Cromwell sought to maintain order without denominational preference.[24]

The severe restrictions and persecutions that the English and Scotch Presbyterians had to undergo in the early stages of the Restoration period did not reach the Ulster Presbyterians until the program of Charles II had been definitely formulated in England itself. Under the administration of Ormonde, head of Irish affairs, a general mildness existed for a period of seven years. And a state grant in the form of the "Regium Donum" for the care of the widows and orphans of those ministers who had been ejected by the Restoration was made to Presbyterians. Nevertheless Presbyterians, ac-

[23] Hanna, *op. cit.*, I, 559–560, 579.
[24] Ford, *op. cit.*, pp. 148, 150–151.

tively engaged in pursuits that did not meet with official sanction, were in danger of arrest.[25]

The respite from persecution was brief. Punishment in the form of fines and imprisonment was meted out to those who conducted nonconformist services, attended conventicles, absented themselves from services in parish churches, or refused to take the Oath of Supremacy.[26] Since James II favored a policy of toleration for Roman Catholics, the division of religious groups became more marked; and civil strife became imminent because of more sharply defined racial and religious differences. The occasion for the outbreak of civil war in Ireland came with the dethronement of James II, to whom the Roman Catholics remained loyal, while the Protestants of northern Ireland declared for William and Mary. Both Presbyterian ministers and laymen were particularly active in the interests of the new English monarch, and valiantly resisted the army under Tyrconnel, the lord deputy, that besieged Londonderry and Enniskillen. With the arrival of forces from England and the victory at Boyne the cause of James II was weakened to such an extent that the civil war ended after much suffering and bloodshed.[27]

The moderation of William's policy towards the nonconformists in England was felt to a degree in Ireland. And the Presbyterian Church made considerable progress by the influx of many adherents from Scotland during the period from 1690 to 1698. New congregations arose and old ones grew in size in spite of the opposition of landlords and prelates and the failure of the extension of the English Toleration Act to Ireland.[28] The growing strength and aggressiveness of Pres-

[25] Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 154; *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1663–1665*, p. 242.

[26] *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1669–1670*, pp. 149, 226, 649; Croskery, *Irish Presbyterianism*, p. 11.

[27] N. Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs*, I, 609; Hanna, *op. cit.*, I, 581–601. This section of Hanna's work gives a graphic account of the distressing circumstances undergone by the Irish Presbyterians during the Restoration and Civil War in Ireland.

[28] Hanna, *op. cit.*, I, 617; Lecky, *Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, I, 190.

byterians prompted the High Church Party to measures of opposition that rendered any contemplated aid by William powerless. Further impetus to the growing activity of the High Church Party was given by the accession of Anne, who was Tory in her sympathies and possessed of a deep reverence for ecclesiastical authority. A measure passed by the Irish Parliament against the Roman Catholics in 1703, was amended at the instigation of the English ministry to include a sacramental test, after the measure had been sent to England for the necessary ratification. And the Irish Parliament, to save the anti-Popery clauses, enacted the test clause attached to the original measure. This act provided that all public officers of Ireland must take the sacrament according to the rites of the Established Church; declared that marriages to be regular had to be performed by an Episcopal clergyman; and exposed dissenters to persecutions in the ecclesiastical courts. Presbyterians who refused to conform were excluded from both civil and military offices, and suffered vexatious persecution and arrest for not conforming. Through the instigation of bishops, clauses forbidding the erection of meetinghouses were inserted in leases. When some Presbyterians proposed the erection of a seminary in Belfast in 1705, the Irish House of Commons passed a resolution opposing such a course on the claim that the "erection of any seminary for the instruction and education of youth in principles contrary to the Established Church and Government tends to create a perpetual misunderstanding among Protestants." Both Papist and Presbyterian were forbidden by the statute law of Ireland to open or to teach in any school or college. By such measures, Lecky claims, the political importance of these people was lowered, and "another deep line of disqualification was introduced into Irish life." [29]

The latter part of Anne's reign was marked by continued

[29] Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland,* II, 502–512; Lecky, *op. cit.,* I, 190–191; Hanna, *op. cit.,* I, 617–619; Croskery, *op. cit.,* pp. 31–32.

restrictions that affected Presbyterian interests in Ireland. When the English Parliament extended the provisions of the Act against Schism in 1713, Presbyterian schoolmasters were made liable to imprisonment for three months if they carried out the duties of their offices. The Royal Bounty was definitely withdrawn. Persecution meted out by the adherents of the High Church Party dogged the steps of the Ulster Presbyterians even after the accession of George I.[30] Relief from religious persecution, however, was in sight when the Whig influence became dominant.

Although absolute toleration was not granted because Tory opposition to such a course persisted, partial toleration was obtained by an act that delivered Protestant dissenters from penalties for non-attendance at services in the parish churches and permitted nonconformist ministers to perform all the duties of their office without penalty. By an Act of Indemnity, dissenters who had held a civil or military office with pay from the crown without having taken the Test were released from the consequences of the Test Act. But since this act had not been repealed, office-holding nonconformists were liable to punishment for future violations.[31] Although the force of the disqualifying acts was curtailed by indemnity acts, the Test Act remained as mute evidence of distressing inhibitions. The relaxation of the English government in the administration of these acts lessened the possibility of the dissenters' migration on purely religious grounds. But other factors contributed in producing the great exodus of Presbyterians from Ireland.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DRAWBACKS

The prevalence of social inequality in Ireland played a significant part in the struggle between the adherents of the Established Church and the English Government on the one hand, and the Presbyterians on the other. In 1715 Arch-

[30] Hanna, *ibid.*, I, 619–620.
[31] *Ibid.*, I, 621.

bishop Synge estimated that not more than forty of the Protestant dissenters were of the rank of gentlemen, and not more than four were considerable landowners.[32] Henry Maxwell, a member of the Irish Parliament, stated in 1716:

> The body of our Dissenters consist of the middle and meaner sort of people, chiefly in the North. Not many of them are estated men compared with those of the Established Church. The number of Dissenters in our house does not exceed if it reaches to the number of six. In the House of Lords there is not one Dissenter of weight.[33]

As tenants who held their land through leases, Presbyterians were unable to combat the restrictive legislation enacted against them. But such drawbacks did not stop them from engaging in productive enterprises.

Within a short time after the transplantation had begun, the whole aspect of northern Ireland began to be transformed by the energies of the new settlers. Pasture lands were broken up for tillage; fields became productive; homesteads and farm houses studded the countryside; towns and villages sprang into being as trade and manufacturing centers.[34] Since a great part of Ulster consisted of pasture land, the settlers engaged actively in the raising of sheep, hogs, and cattle. After the Cromwellian wars the Irish export of cattle assumed such large proportions that the English landowners urged the curbing of this export trade. Therefore, to protect the English producers, laws were enacted in 1665 and 1680 by which the importation into England of all cattle, sheep, and swine, of beef, pork, bacon, and mutton as well as butter and cheese, was absolutely forbidden. By the Navigation Acts of 1663 and 1670 the Irish producers found their efforts to build a colonial trade cut short when their ships were forbidden to engage in colonial trade. A further restriction was placed upon them by the Navigation Act of 1696 which per-

[32] Lecky, *op. cit.*, I, 424.
[33] Quoted by Croskery, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

mitted the importation of goods from the colonies only by way of England. Swift deplored the fact that a region so well suited with ports and harbors for the carrying on of trade was rendered useless. Even Scotland, in supporting a program that favored home production, placed an embargo on Irish cattle, salt beef, meal, all kinds of grain, and on horses.[35]

The resourceful producer of Ireland, not discouraged by these restrictions, turned his energies to the manufacturing of woolen goods. Their fine quality soon won a large market, and the demand for the product attracted large numbers of English, Scotch, and foreign manufacturers to Ireland. The rapid growth of this industry again threatened the English manufacturers. Through the influence of the English an Irish Parliament imposed heavy restrictive duties on the export of Irish woolen goods in 1698. And in the following year the English forbade the exportation of Irish manufactured wool to any other country. "So ended the fairest promise Ireland had ever known of becoming a prosperous and a happy country. The ruin was absolute and final." [36]

With the destruction of the woolen industry the producers of Ireland were urged to develop the linen and hempen industries. But it was not until 1705 that the Irish were allowed to export white and brown linens to the British colonies, while checked, striped, and dyed linens were still excluded. After a prolonged struggle the Irish linen manufacture escaped the fate of the woolen industry. The manufacture of hempen fabrics, however, succumbed to continued discouragements.[37] Under such discouragements a general commercial despondency set in among those who had engaged in the above-mentioned pursuits, and preparations for departure from Ireland were begun.

Many of the Presbyterians who settled in Ulster did so

[35] Lecky, *op. cit.*, I, 173–174; Ford, *op. cit.*, pp. 182–183.
[36] *Ibid.*, I, 176–177.
[37] Ford, *op. cit.*, pp. 185–186.

largely as tenants under lease. Hence they were subject to the will of the landlords, not a few of whom were absentee holders. When the time for renewing the leases arrived about 1717 and 1718, the landlords placed a new burden upon the lease-holders by doubling and trebling the rents. Many Presbyterians, unwilling and unable to pay the increased rents, surrendered their holdings and began their preparations for their departure from Ireland.[38] But the accumulation of grievances, humanly imposed, was not alone responsible in adding to the cup of bitterness. Nature also contributed to the suffering of these people.

The harvests of 1725, 1726, and 1727 were so unproductive that the price of food in 1728 "far exceeded what it had been in the memory of that generation." [39] Lecky points out that during a period of twenty years "there were at least three or four of absolute famine, and that of 1740 and 1741, which followed the great frost at the end of 1739, though it has hardly left a trace in history, and hardly excited any attention in England, was one of the most fearful upon record." [40] The forces of man and nature seemed to be converging to induce these people to migrate. As a people they endured a great deal of punishment before they started to emigrate in large numbers. But during the eighteenth century thousands of Scotch-Irish, reared on Presbyterian principles and organized in congregations, migrated to a land that afforded a haven for these refugees and supplied these rugged and hardy characters with new fields of conquest.

THE EXODUS FROM IRELAND

Although emigration from Ireland to America had been going on periodically from 1670 to 1715, it was not until the closing years of the second decade of the eighteenth cen-

[38] Reid, *op. cit.*, III, 224; Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 186.
[39] *Ibid.*, III, 224.
[40] Lecky, *op. cit.*, I, 185–186.

tury that Pennsylvania felt the beginnings of this mighty movement.[41] From this period until the close of the colonial era the migration of Presbyterians from Ireland provided the numerical strength to Presbyterianism in Pennsylvania.

Harassed and distraught by religious restrictions, increased rentals, burdensome tithes, and vexatious limitations upon industry and trade, the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians as the major group of nonconformists began to emigrate in large numbers from Ireland. Since ministers had been the target of deliberate persecution because of their active leadership in opposition to the established order, they played an important rôle in the impetus given to this great migration from Ireland. In 1718 it was reported that "no less than six ministers have demitted their congregations, and great numbers of their people go with them; so that we are daily alarmed with both ministers and people going off." [42] Although the passing of the Toleration Act in 1719 removed some of the grounds for grievance against the established order and was partially responsible in reducing the extent of the migration for a few years, its enactment did not bring a cessation to the emigration. Renewed activity for migration on larger proportions began to appear in 1724, but it was not until 1728 that it reached such a degree that governmental officials became alarmed. In that year Archbishop Boulter, one of the lords justices, reported to the Secretary of State in England that for several years agents from the colonies in America and shipmasters had been active in deluding "the people with stories of great plenty and estates to be had for going for, in those parts of the world." He reported that more than 3,100 had left during the summer previous to his writing; and estimated that one in ten was a man possessing sufficient means to pay for his pas-

[41] W. H. G. Flood, "Irish Emigration to the American Colonies, 1723 to 1773," *Journal of the American-Irish Historical Society*, XXVI, 204; Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

[42] Reid, *op. cit.*, III, 225. This quotation is taken from a letter of a minister of Ulster included in this work.

sage, while the others hired themselves or contracted with the masters of ships for four years of servitude. The desire to emigrate had "spread like a contagious distemper" among the Protestants, particularly in the north of Ireland.[43]

The internal distress in Ireland and the inducements of the New World were the impelling forces that led thousands of Protestants to emigrate. Between 1725 and 1727 about 5,000 persons, of whom 3,500 were from Ulster, emigrated from Ireland. During 1728 and 1729 the number that left Dublin for Philadelphia is placed at 2,000.[44] That this movement was affecting many groups appears in a letter of February 1729, written from Coleraine and stating:

> We learn, that Multitudes of People are preparing to transport themselves to America; we are assured a Popish Priest and most of his Irish Congregation are getting ready to go; and this Humour prevails thro' People of all Persuasions; even the Quakers, as well as the Rest.[45]

Robert Gambie, a merchant in Londonderry, Ireland, reported in July, 1729:

> There is gone and to go this Summer from this Port Twenty-five Sail of Ships, who carry each, from One Hundred and forty Passengers to America; there are many more going from Belfast; and the Ports near Colrain, besides great Numbers from Dublin, Newry, and round the Coast.

The Londonderry news item of 1729 reveals that a certain "Isaac Taylor, a Presbyterian Teacher for Twelve or Fourteen years past, conformed, and was ordained Deacon by the Bishop of Derry: His Flock being mostly gone for America."[46]

The Protestant emigration had reached such proportions in 1729 that the noblemen and gentlemen of Ireland sent a memorial to the lords justices and governors of Ireland in

[43] Reid, *op. cit.*, III, 225–226.
[44] Flood, *op. cit.*, XXVI, 204–205.
[45] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 8, 1729; Nov. 17, 1729.
[46] *Ibid.*, Nov. 17, 1729.

which they deplored the effect of such a movement on the economic conditions of the country. These memorialists feared the consequences of the departure of approximately 4,000 useful Protestants

> . . . since the Beginning of last Spring and your Memorialists are well-assured, that the Infatuation is now so general, that not fewer than 20,000 have already declared, and seem determin'd to transport themselves in the ensuing Spring, many of them Freeholders, and Persons who were well-settled at easy Rents, and useful Hands in carrying on the Linen Manufacture of this Kingdom, which is our great and only Support.
>
> The Effects of so great a Desertion of Protestants, appears so destructive, by the entire Ruin of Credit, and consequently of all Trade in the Country, which is already so much felt, that we have Reason to apprehend a total Decay of our Linen Manufacture, a great Failure in his Majesty's Revenue, and what is most terrible to us, a dangerous Superiority of our inveterate Enemies the Papists, who openly and avowedly rejoice at this impending Calamity, use all Means and Artifices to encourage and persuade the Protestants to leave the Nation; and cannot refrain boasting, that they shall by this Means have again all the Lands of this Kingdom in their Possession.

To forestall such a calamity "the Dissenting Ministers, conven'd in Synod at *Dublin*, were desir'd to use their Influence with the People, in persuading them not to desert the Kingdom." [47]

The emigration had reached such proportions that a proposal to restrict this movement was made in the Irish Parliament in 1735. Instead of putting a stop to emigration, this threat caused much alarm among those who were planning to leave for America, and induced many more to make preparation for an early departure. The inadequacy of such a proposal to obtain the desired results led to its abandonment for the more drastic measure of issuing warrants, at the instigation of the landlords, for the arrest of owners and masters of

[47] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Nov. 17, 1729.

ships on the pretext that the advertising of the time of sailing for designated ports encouraged the subjects to migrate from one plantation to another on exaggerated reports of conditions of plenty in America.[48] To discourage emigration by way of Belfast the officials of that port forbade the poor people to take their bedding with them when the ships were ready to sail. Justification for such arbitrary action was based on the claim that an old act of Parliament prohibited such sailings. On one occasion ten ships, containing seventeen or eighteen hundred emigrants in "deplorable circumstances" had been delayed for almost three weeks by the port authorities, during which time their suffering was intensified because they had no "means wherewith to support themselves." [49]

Continued industrial distress and the famines of 1740 and 1741 induced many more to leave Ireland in the succeeding decades. During the height of the exodus, it has been estimated, approximately 12,000 persons annually left Ulster. Arthur Young declared that in the eighteen or twenty years prior to 1760 the shipping of Derry had carried 2,400 emigrants annually. The north of Ireland from 1768 to 1773 was "drained of one-fourth of its trading cash, and of a like proportion of the manufacturing people." [50] From 1771 to 1773 approximately 32,000 persons left Ulster for America, about 20,000 sailed from Dublin, and 10,000 each from Cork and Waterford. The sailing records of the newspapers of Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Galway, and Waterford reveal that approximately 150,000 emigrants embarked for America in the seventeen seventies before the outbreak of the American War of Independence.[51]

From these figures it is apparent that within a period of

[48] Martin and Shenk (editors), *Pennsylvania History Told by Contemporaries,* pp. 21–22.

[49] *Ibid.,* p. 23.

[50] Ford, *op. cit.,* pp. 198, 202–203.

[51] Flood *op. cit.,* XXVI, 205–206; J. P. MacLean, *An Historical Account of the Settlement of Scotch Highlanders in America Prior to the Peace of 1783,* p. 45.

sixty years Ireland (particularly Ulster) was the source of a large emigration to the New World. Although this emigration consisted of adherents of Roman Catholicism and of the various sects of Protestantism, two aspects of this emigration are paramount to this study. In the first place, a large percentage of these emigrants were Scotch-Irish Presbyterians; and secondly, Pennsylvania provided a haven for the majority of these Presbyterians. Even though the population of Ireland was predominantly Roman Catholic, it does not appear that the emigration of Roman Catholics to Pennsylvania during this great exodus of Protestants was very large. The memorial of some Irish landowners in 1729 reveals that at that date the emigration was a Protestant movement. Robert Harding, the first Roman Catholic priest in the province of Pennsylvania, informed Richard Peters in 1757 that the number of English, Irish, and German Roman Catholics did not exceed two thousand. To a degree Arthur Young exaggerated the situation when he claimed that the "Catholics never went; they seemed not only tied to the country but almost to the parish in which their masters lived." [52] Another statement of his, less sweeping in character, throws additional light on the nature of this movement near the close of the colonial era: "The spirit of emigrating in Ireland appears to be confined to two circumstances, the presbyterian religion, and the linen manufacture. I heard of very few emigrants except among manufacturers of that persuasion." [53] Lecky, in summing up the situation in Ireland, stated:

> The Presbyterians were, it is true, free from the innumerable restrictions and oppressions relating to property and to education which ground the Catholics to the dust, but they soon found that Ireland was no country for an enterprising and ambitious population. The

[52] *Pennsylvania Gazette,* Nov. 17–20, 1729; Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, American Colonial Clergy, March, 1757; Ford, *op. cit.,* p. 204; *Journal of American-Irish Historical Society,* XXI, 165–171.

[53] John Pinkerton, *A General Collection of the Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in all Parts of the World,* III, 868. (London, 1809.)

commercial restrictions had struck a deathblow to its prosperity, and as leases fell in and as famine after famine swept over the land, the emigration of Presbyterians continually increased, diminishing their numbers, and carrying away their more enterprising members.[54]

[54] Lecky, *op. cit.*, I, 436–437.

II

PRESBYTERIAN MIGRATION TO PENNSYLVANIA

A HAZARDOUS JOURNEY

As the departing emigrants watched the shoreline of the homeland recede from their sight, many conflicting emotions must have surged through them. The severest experiences could not have erased all feeling of devotion for the land which they so recently called their own. And in spite of the hope of new conquests in a distant land, the dread of catastrophe on the high seas before land again welcomed them was ever imminent. The goal was attractive, but the way long and dangerous. Unseaworthy ships, tempestuous seas, shortage of food and water, ravaging disease, and pirates made the outcome of the venture an uncertain one. The demand of thousands of emigrants for immediate transportation resulted in the use of unseaworthy vessels and unskilled seamen. Even poorly equipped "coasters" were pressed into service. Under such unfavorable conditions the hazards of the journey were increased and the chances of a safe arrival greatly reduced. Journeys, begun in hope, were suddenly cut short when ships sprang leaks and were forced back to port where unexpected hardships because of delays were again the lot of many emigrants. If the early hazards of the voyage were weathered, starvation, sickness from crowded and insanitary conditions, and shipwreck took a heavy toll in deaths before the shores of the New World were reached.[1]

[1] *Pennsylvania Gazette,* Nov. 17–20, 1729

The suffering in some instances was more intense than in others. One account reveals that a certain vessel, carrying 190 passengers, of whom thirty were children, from Ireland to Philadelphia, was found in distress off the coast of New England after a journey of twenty weeks. When aid finally reached the ship, a hundred of the passengers, including all the children save one, had starved to death; and the others had only twenty-five "biskets" left to sustain them. Of the crew the master, mate, and three sailors alone survived; and they were sick. A Captain Lothrop who came to their rescue took the survivors to Sandy Point.[2] Although not all journeys were beset with such gruesome results, it was not uncommon for death by disease and starvation to take its toll before the port of entry had been reached. On one ship, requiring twenty-two weeks to sail from Ireland to New Castle, death overtook seventy-five of the passengers, whose bodies were disposed of by being thrown overboard.[3] Under favorable conditions the crossing required from eight to ten weeks. But if nature did not threaten the safe arrival, pirates sometimes endangered an otherwise uneventful crossing.[4]

In spite of the uncertainty of a safe arrival, ship after ship bore thousands of immigrants to the chief ports of entry along the western shores of the Delaware River. The ports were Lewes, New Castle, and Philadelphia. From these points many of the Presbyterian immigrants made their way to the unoccupied lands of Pennsylvania.

PENNSYLVANIA THE CHOICE OF PRESBYTERIANS

In the search for an answer to the question, "Why did so many Presbyterians come to Pennsylvania?" it must be remembered that no single factor induced these people to choose this province. The activities of Penn and his agents to induce

[2] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Nov. 17–20, 1729.
[3] *Ibid.*, Feb. 10–19, 1729/30.
[4] Logan Papers, Letter Books, II, 169.

Europeans to settle in Pennsylvania cannot be set aside as a negligible factor. Although Presbyterians had gone to New England in large numbers prior to 1720, distrust of the leaders there prompted many to go to some of the other colonies. Virginia, Maryland, New York, and New Jersey provided places of settlement for some of these Presbyterian immigrants. But either hostile governments or unfavorable natural conditions served as deterring factors to settlement in those colonies by the later arrivals.

Notwithstanding the statement of one authority that "It was owing to her situation and not because of any favor or encouragement from the authorities that Pennsylvania became the Scotch-Irish centre in the United States," [5] both the opinion of that day and the evidence qualify that statement. As early as December 1681, Robert Barclay informed Penn from Edinburgh that "several sober persons of the presbiterian way" were desirous of establishing themselves in the New World by purchasing land without "contradicting the limits thou art tyed to in thy patent." Barclay entreated Penn to be receptive to their proposed plan of settlement.[6] In 1727 James Logan informed John Penn that the newcomers decided to settle in Pennsylvania because "the Proprietor invited People to come & settle his Countrey." [7] The illustrious lawyer, Andrew Hamilton, stated in 1739 that the progress of the province in improvements, wealth, trade, navigation, and the increase in population as the result of a large migration, was not due so much to the fertility of the soil and the accessibility of the rivers as it was to the constitution "framed by the wisdom of Mr. Penn," with its liberal features in regard to shipping, taxation, and equality of religious societies.[8]

The spirit of devotion to a divine purpose that has found

[5] Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

[6] Penn Manuscripts, Forbes Collection, II, 18.

[7] Logan Papers, Letter Books, IV, 153–154; *Pennsylvania Archives* (second series), VII, 96–97.

[8] Fiske, *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America*, II, 315–316.

expression in the lives of individuals has influenced the course of events to such a degree that it cannot be excluded from a consideration of human activity. When it is recognized that the force of the Reformation had not spent itself by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and that men still acted on religious motives, a cloak of materialism will not enshroud the motives that prompt men, such as William Penn, to establish a province where "the first fundamentall of the Government of my Country" was a religious one. The suffering of nonconformists led him to establish a colony where a spirit of tolerance prevailed in place of "force in matters of faith and worship." Working on the principle that "Christ did not use force and that he did expressly forbidd it in his holy Religion," Penn embodied the fundamental principle in the following form in the constitution: [9]

> . . . that every Person that does or shall reside therein shall have and enjoy the Free Proffession of his or her faith and exercise of worship towards God, in such way and manner As every Person shall in Conscience beleive is most acceptable to God and so long as every such Person useth not this Christian liberty to Licentiousness, that is to say to speak loosly and prophainly of God Christ or Religion, or to Committ any evill in their Conversation, he or she shall be protected in the enjoyment of the aforesaid Christian liberty by y^e^ civill Magistrate.

But this new plantation did not serve merely as an escape from religious disabilities and persecutions. It provided a haven for those whose safety was endangered by plagues, wars, and imprisonment because of debts; and promised a life of abundance "in all necessaries and conveniences" to the immigrants.[10] Hence the invitation to settle in Penn's province was accepted by thousands among whom the religious motive played its part as well as the incentive of improving their ma-

[9] *Source Book and Bibliographical Guide for American Church History* (ed. P. G. Mode), pp. 159–160; *Pennsylvania Magazine of History . . .*, XX, 284–297.

[10] *Source Book . . . for American Church History*, pp. 161–162.

terial conditions. One observer of colonial life in Pennsylvania stated: "Pennsylvania is preeminent for the entire religious equality or toleration, under which it has increased in population and wealth." [11]

The proposal of Penn to maintain the standard of conduct on as high a plane as possible may have prompted some who had deep religious convictions to seek out this colony. Although freedom of conscience was to be permitted, provisions were enacted with a view to end "looseness, irreligion, and atheism" by affording opportunities for religious worship and by requiring that all officials "shall be such as profess and declare they believe in Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, and Saviour of the World." [12] In the Charter of Privileges of 1701, further safeguards to the enjoyment of religious privileges were assured in that any person, confessing and acknowledging "One almighty God, the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the World," should not be molested or prejudiced by his "conscientious Perswasion or Practice, nor be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious Worship, Place or Ministry, contrary to his or their Mind, or to do or suffer any other Act or Thing, contrary to their religious Perswasion." [13] This assurance of a well-ordered society with religious foundations without the necessity of supporting an established church would not escape the attention of many Scotch-Irish Presbyterians who were desirous of enjoying such liberties.

The physiographic features of the province were of such a character that they afforded an energetic people sufficient opportunity to reap bountifully. This centrally located province of the English colonies contained wide expanses of rolling country, the fertility of which was enhanced by abundant rainfall and numerous streams. These streams provided easy ingress to the back country and the necessary waterways for

[11] "Achenwall's Observations on North America, 1767," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History . . .*, XXVII, 12.

[12] *Source Book . . . for American Church History*, pp. 162–164.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 164–165.

transporting the farm products to the chief trading centers. These people, whose forefathers had turned a fertile, but undeveloped, region of northern Ireland into one of productiveness in the preceding century, had the opportunity to make another wilderness blossom as the rose. Even the printed page of that day heralded its productiveness: [14]

> On *Western* Strands remote from British Isles,
> A rising Colony begirt with Smiles
> Of Providence benign, commands our Lyre,
> Rouses my Breast, and sets the Muse on Fire.
> Hail *Pennsylvania!* hail! thou happy Land,
> Where Plenty scatters with a lavish Hand:
> Amidst thy Woods we view the Friendly Vine,
> With Purple Pride, spontaniously entwine;
> Where various Cates arise without the Toil
> Of labouring Hind, to cleave the stubborn Soil:
> The skipping Deer in wild Meanders sport,
> And *Ceres*, with *Pomona*, keep their Court:
> A Thousand winged Choristers delight
> At once the list'ning Ear, and ravish'd Sight:
> Where free from Clouds we breath[e] Aetherial Air,
> And *Sol* keeps Holiday throughout the Year:
> Thy Sons are witty, and thy Daughters fair.

Peter Kalm, after viewing the fruitfulness of this province, stated:

> But Pennsylvania, which was not better than a desart in the year 1681, and hardly contained five hundred people, now vies with several kingdoms in Europe in number of inhabitants. It has received numbers of people which other countries, to their infinite loss, have either neglected or expelled.[15]

So it was that several factors attracted Scotch-Irish Presbyterians to Pennsylvania.

[14] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 21st of 11th month, 1728/9.
[15] Peter Kalm, *Travels in North America*, I, 58–59.

THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF PRESBYTERIANS

Although Presbyterians had reached the shores of New England, Virginia, Maryland, and that region contained in the state of Delaware in fairly large numbers before 1718, they had not settled in Pennsylvania in sufficient numbers to exert a great deal of influence as a religious group up to that time, even though officially Philadelphia was the meeting place for organized Presbyterianism.[16] But that year marked a turning point in the strength of Presbyterians numerically in the province. Near the close of the second decade of the eighteenth century many of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, no longer brooking oppression in the form of increased rentals, economic restrictions on industry and trade, and the vestiges of religious disabilities, began to make their way to Pennsylvania. In the closing months of 1717 James Logan reported the arrival of immigrants from Ireland.[17]

During the next decade the number of immigrants to the province continued to add to the number of Presbyterians. In 1723 George Gillespie, a Presbyterian minister, writing from the head of Christiana Creek in the vicinity of the present Pennsylvania-Delaware boundary line, stated:

> As to the affairs of Christ in our parts of the world: There are a great many congregations erected and new erecting; for wthin the space of five years by gone, near to two hundred Families have come into our parts from Ireland, and more are following: They are generally Presbyterians.[18]

In May 1720 the Presbytery of New Castle reported that the "number of people lately come from Ireland" had grown to such an extent that the settlers along the branches of the

[16] Ford, *op. cit.*, 330; Hodge, *Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church*, Part I, 59; Briggs in his *American Presbyterianism*, p. 184, states: "Irish Presbyterians emigrated in large numbers to America from 1713 onward, and added greatly to the strength of American Presbyterianism."

[17] Logan Papers, Letter Books, II, 169.

[18] Letter of George Gillespie to the Rev. John Stirling in Briggs, *op. cit.*, appendix lxxxiv.

Elk River had sent commissioners to ask for ministerial supplies with the "design of having the Gospel settled among them." [19] This and many subsequent settlements were made in those regions, the ownership of which was in dispute between Maryland and Pennsylvania.

In the period from 1725 to 1730 there was a noticeable increase of Irish immigrants. Again James Logan reported in February 1725 the coming of "large accession of fforeigners and those from the North of Ireland are become very populous." [20] In the fall of 1727 he wrote: "We have from the North of Ireland great numbers yearly, 8 or 9 Ships this last ffall discharged at New Castle." One of these Irish immigrants applied to the authorities of the province, in the name of four hundred persons, for a place to settle.[21] Of the 1,708 passengers who disembarked at Philadelphia from Christmas 1728 to that of 1729, 1,155 were from Ireland; and it was reported that during the same period "in the *New Castle* Government have been landed about 4,500 Passengers and Servants, chiefly from Ireland." [22] Jedidiah Andrews, minister of the Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, throws some light on this movement in a communication of October 1730, in the following:

> Such a multitude of people coming in, from Ireland, of late years, our Congregations are multiplied, in this Province, to the number of 15 or 16, which are all, but 2 or 3, furnished with ministers. All Scotch and Irish but 3 or 4. Besides divers new Congregations yt are forming by these new comers, we all call ourselves Presbyterians, none pretending to be called Congregational, in this Province.[23]

[19] Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, I, 23–24.

[20] Logan Papers, Letter Books, II, 247.

[21] *Ibid.*, IV, 153–154; *Pennsylvania Archives* (second series), VII, 96–97.

[22] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Jan. 6–13, 1929/30. The Reverend William Becket, of the Church of England, stated in 1728 that great numbers of Scotch-Irish "have transported themselves & their families from the North of Ireland into the Province of Pennsylvania." C. H. B. Turner Papers.

[23] Letter of Jedidiah Andrews to Thomas Prince, Philadelphia, October 14, 1730, in Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania*, XV, 200.

As the discontented left Ireland in the subsequent decades because of suffering and limitations at home, the number of Presbyterian immigrants to Pennsylvania increased. Some estimates have placed the number of immigrants to Pennsylvania from the North of Ireland during some years as high as 10,000 annually.[24] During the last decade of the colonial period another great wave of Irish immigrants reached Pennsylvania. The total number of Irish that came to the ports on the Delaware River from 1767 to 1774 has been placed at 96,000, of whom 32,640 were from Ulster.[25] It has been estimated that 3,500 immigrants to Pennsylvania arrived from Ireland in the first fortnight of August 1773.[26] So it happened that the number of Scotch-Irish was added to by these later arrivals. Benjamin Franklin, computing the total population of Pennsylvania in 1774 at 350,000, estimated the numerical strength of the Scotch-Irish at one-third of the total.

Owing to the lack of adequate statistics it is difficult to determine what percentage of the Irish immigrants to Pennsylvania were Protestant, and what percentage of the latter were Presbyterians. The only other religious group that could have contributed to this immigration on a large scale was that of the Roman Catholic Church. The adherents of the Roman Catholic Church, however, did not come in such numbers to Pennsylvania during the colonial period as seriously to affect the strength of the Irish Presbyterian immigration. The memorial of the Irish landowners in 1729 asserted that the emigration was among the Protestants, and that the Papists "openly and avowedly rejoice at this impending Calamity" and "use all Means and Artifices to encourage and persuade the Protestants to leave the Nation; and cannot refrain boasting, that they shall by this Means have again all the Lands of

[24] Martin and Shenk (editors), *Pennsylvania History Told by Contemporaries*, p. 21.

[25] M. J. O'Brien, *Shipping Statistics of the Philadelphia Custom House, 1733–1774 . . .*, p. 134.

[26] Holmes, *Annals*, II, 305.

this Kingdom in their Possession." [27] Twenty-eight years later Robert Harding, the first Roman Catholic priest in the province of Pennsylvania, sent the following communication to Richard Peters: [28]

> I send you ye number of ye Roman Catholicks in this Town, & of those, whom I visit in ye Country; Mr. Sneider is not in Town, to give an account of ye Germans; but I have heared him often say, yt ye whole number of Roman Catholicks, English, Irish & Germans, including men, wemen & children, does not exceed two thousand.

Dr. William Smith's estimate of 1759 placed the number of Roman Catholics in both the province and the territories at 10,000, consisting of English, Irish, and German. Although Arthur Young claimed that the emigration from Ireland in the closing years of this period was largely among those of the Presbyterian persuasion, the increased immigration of native Irish, who were usually Roman Catholic, resulted in a steady increase of Roman Catholics in Pennsylvania. But by this time many Presbyterian communities had been established; and the newcomers who were Presbyterians either settled in the older communities, or joined their forces with those Presbyterians who had already initiated the great westward movement within that denomination in the province of Pennsylvania.

The lack of adequate statistics makes it difficult to estimate with any degree of accuracy the strength of Presbyterians in Pennsylvania during the colonial period. Contemporary accounts are of aid only in so far as they serve to give an approximate estimate of the number of inhabitants in the province during the colonial period. In 1759 Dr. William Smith placed the strength of Presbyterians at 55,000 in a population

[27] *Pennsylvania Gazette,* Nov. 17 to 20, 1729.

[28] Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, American Colonial Clergy, March 19, 1757.

of 250,000 for both the province and the territories.[29] Franklin's estimate that placed the total population of the province at not more than 110,000 a few years later seems too conservative in view of Dr. Smith's estimate, and of another estimate that placed the population at 280,000 in 1763, and of Franklin's own computation of 350,000 a decade later.[30] On the basis of Franklin's first inference the number of Presbyterians would not have exceeded 22,000. But in view of the large Scotch-Irish immigration and a large birth rate during the preceding forty-five years the latter number would seem to be an underestimation of both the number of Presbyterians and the total population of the province. Before the outbreak of the American Revolution the numerical strength of the Presbyterians increased so rapidly as a result of the Scotch-Irish immigration that this religious group became increasingly important in the affairs of the province. In 1774 Benjamin Franklin, computing the total population of Pennsylvania at 350,000, estimated the numerical strength of the Scotch-Irish as one-third of this number. Allowing for the fact that not all Scotch-Irish were Presbyterians, one would

[29] *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York,* VII, 407: Letter of Dr. William Smith to Archbishop Secker, Philadelphia, November 27, 1759. Dr. Smith stated: "The number of souls, in this Province & Territories, is thought to be at least 250,000; and the state of Religious Persuasions, agreeable to the best Calculation I can make, from ample materials in my hands, is as follows; viz.

1. Of the Church of England about 25,000
2. Quakers 50,000
3. English, Scotch and Irish Presbyterians, Covenanters &c 55,000
4. English Anabaptists 5,000
5. German Anabaptists, or Menonites, and other Quietist Sects .. 30,000
6. German Lutherans, who are well inclined to be incorporated into the Church of England 35,000
7. Swedish Lutherans, who use the Liturgy & discipline of the Church in most Articles 5,000
8. German Presbyterians or Calvanists, who style themselves the *Reformed* 30,000
9. Roman Catholics, English Irish and German 10,000
10. Moravians, and a small German Society called Donkers, about.. 5,000

In all 250,000"

[30] *Writings of Benjamin Franklin* (editor, Albert H. Smyth), IV, 337 n.

conservatively place the number of Presbyterians in Pennsylvania at the close of the colonial era in the neighborhood of 100,000. Subsequent material that deals with the rapid growth of Presbyterian congregations in many of the older settlements and the formation of new congregations on an expanding frontier will furnish evidence of the extraordinary increase in the number of Presbyterian adherents in colonial Pennsylvania.

III

EARLY ESTABLISHMENTS IN PENNSLYVANIA

BEGINNINGS IN PHILADELPHIA

From the point of view of establishments by Presbyterians in Pennsylvania it is needful to direct attention chiefly to the formation of congregations. Just as the other religious groups that came to America transplanted religious forms from a European background; in like manner Presbyterians made their establishments on lines similar to their European experiences. From organized church centers in the Old World the first Presbyterian immigrants to Pennsylvania came to what was a wilderness in a religious as well as in a material sense; for they were confronted with the necessity of organizing anew when circumstances permitted. The beginnings of separate congregations did not result from the guidance or direction of a superior organization, but rather from the assembling of kindred spirits in search of Christian fellowship as essential to the fuller enjoyment of spiritual graces. The Presbyterians who arrived in this province before 1700 came as individuals or in small companies, and settled in the midst of other religious groups.[1] Only as the congregations increased in size and made provisions for the support of ministers did they emerge from feeble beginnings to active organisms. Up to 1718 the growth of Presbyterian congregations in Pennsylvania was dependent upon the assimilating of in-

[1] Hodge, *The Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America,* Part I, p. 19.

dividuals of similar religious principles but of different nationalities, or upon a few groups of similar national origin.[2]

Since Philadelphia was the chief port of entry in the province and the most likely place of settlement for the early immigrants, it became the first important center for Presbyterians. How soon after Penn's arrival Presbyterians came to Philadelphia remains obscure. Francis Daniel Pastorius stated that the passengers who arrived with him in Philadelphia in 1683 were not only different in their ages and occupations,

> . . . but were also of such different religions and behaviors that I might not unfittingly compare the ship that bore them hither with Noah's Ark, but that there were more unclean than clean (rational) animals to be found therein. In my household I have those who hold to the Roman, to the Lutheran, to the Calvinistic, to the Anabaptist, and to the Anglican church, and only one Quaker.[3]

Although absolute proof is lacking, it is quite likely that of the 7,200 inhabitants in a small section of southeastern Pennsylvania in 1685 there were some Presbyterian adherents among the English, Dutch, Germans, Swedes, Finns, Scotch-Irish, and English who made up the population.[4]

From all indications it appears that the responsibility of bringing the Presbyterian adherents together in Philadelphia at an early date was assumed by one man. In the same year that William Penn arrived in America, Francis Makemie, born of Scotch parentage in the County of Donegal, Ireland, shortly before the accession of Charles II, and later enrolled

[2] Whereas the membership of the Presbyterian congregations of Neshaminy and Bensalem in Bucks County consisted of Dutch settlers during the first two decades of the eighteenth century, and that of the Presbyterian congregation in the Great Valley in Chester County consisted of Welsh, the Philadelphia congregation was made up of different national groups. *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, pp. 15–16; Record of the First Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, pp. 1–9.

[3] *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware* (edited by A. C. Myers), p. 396.

[4] Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, III, 491.

as a student in the University of Glasgow, was ordained as a minister of the Gospel by the Presbytery of Laggan. The following year he arrived in America. Although he had planned to seek out a field of missionary activity in South Carolina, "contrary winds" brought the ship to the shores of Virginia where, as he says, he decided "to submit myself to the sovereign providence of God, who has been pleased so unexpectedly to drive me back to this poor desolate people, among whom I designe to continue till God in his providence determine otherwise concerning me." From Accomac County, Virginia, where he was listed among the tithables from 1688 to 1693, and where in addition to his work in the ministry he engaged in the trade with the West Indies, he made frequent missionary journeys to other colonies in the interests of Presbyterians. One of his journeys took him into Pennsylvania in August 1692, and fulfilled his "longing desire" to visit that colony.[5] Various authorities claim that on this visit to Pennsylvania Makemie gathered the Protestant dissenters together for worship in Philadelphia.[6]

Three years after this visit of Francis Makemie to Pennsylvania, a number of Philadelphians of different persuasions assembled for the purpose of worshiping God. When a group of Baptists and Presbyterians met in 1695 in a storehouse of

[5] Francis Makemie, "A Good Conversation. A Sermon Preached at the City of New-York, January 19th 1706, 7." New York Historical Society, *Collections*, 1870, p. 449; Webster, *History of the Presbyterian Church in America*, pp. 297–299; L. P. Bowen, *The Days of Makemie*, pp. 198, 215; C. Torrence, *Old Somerset on the Eastern Shore of Maryland*, p. 217.

[6] It was at this time that the province was in turmoil over the Keithian controversy. L. P. Bowen believes that Makemie, who had been visited by Keith at the former's home in Virginia in 1691, went to Philadelphia in the following year when he journeyed to Pennsylvania. That he had been interested in the controversy is evident from the publication, soon after his arrival in Boston, of "An answer to George Keith's libel on a catechism published by F. Makemie." Scharf and Wescott in their *History of Philadelphia* state specifically that Makemie "met a number of English, Welsh, Scotch, and French Presbyterians, and organized a church, which assembled for religious worship in connection with a few Baptists." II, 1263. Richard Webster regarded it as "highly probable" that Makemie gathered Protestant dissenters for worship on this visit. Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

the Barbadoes Company at Second and Chestnut streets, the foundations for the growth of both of these denominations were laid. In that year John Watts, a Baptist minister of Pennypack, consented to preach in Philadelphia every other Lord's day. He reported that

> . . . divers of the persons who came to that assembly were presbyterians in judgment (they having no minister of their own, and we having hitherto made no scruple of holding communion with them in the public worship of God and common duties of religion nor of admitting their ministers, if at any time they came amongst us, to pray and preach in our assemblies).[7]

The ministry of John Watts to this combined group continued until 1698.

By this time the Presbyterians had become sufficiently numerous to attract attention from different angles. A certain Gabriel Thomas, writing in 1697, referred to the presence of Presbyterians among the other religious groups comprising Lutherans, Anglicans, Baptists, and Quakers.[8] In the summer of 1698 Jedidiah Andrews, born in Hingham, Massachusetts, in 1674 and graduated from Harvard in 1695, arrived in Philadelphia to look after the interests of the Presbyterians. The Baptist and Presbyterian ministers, according to Thomas Clayton's communication to the governor in 1698, preached "both in one Meeting, the one in the morning and the other in the afternoon." It was not long until each minister began to look more diligently after those of his own persuasion. As a matter of fact Andrews was "upbraided" by Clayton for worshiping in the same meetinghouse with the Baptists on the grounds that such a practice would appear "as being a direct cherishing a schism against himself as well as me; and would fain have set him [Andrews] to work against him [Watts];

[7] Morgan Edwards, *Materials for an History of the Baptists in Pennsylvania*, p. 105.

[8] *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania . . .*, (A. C. Myers, ed.) p. 335.

but could not spur him to it." [9] But the seeds for a break between the Baptists and the Presbyterians had been planted shortly before the writing of this letter.

A discordant note between Presbyterians and Baptists appeared several months after the arrival of Andrews in a movement on the part of the Presbyterians to conduct their worship independently of the Baptists. Evidences of this trend prompted Watts and his friends to assure Andrews and the Presbyterians in a letter, dated October 30, 1698(O. S.), as follows: [10]

> We do freely confess and promise for ourselves that we can and do own and allow of your approved ministers who are fitly qualified and found in the faith and of holy lives to pray and preach in our assemblies. If you can also freely confess and promise for yourselves that you can and will own and allow of our approved ministers who art fitly qualified and found in the faith and of holy lives to preach and pray in your assemblies, that so each side may own, embrace and accept of one another as fellow brethren and ministers of Christ; and hold and maintain christian communion and fellowship.

The reply of the Presbyterians to this proposal acknowledged the commendable aim of such a move in the interest "of unity and communion in the things of God"; and for the consideration of the proposal the Presbyterians suggested a meeting of the two groups at a time set by the Baptists.[11] The Baptists designated a day in November when the conference was to be held "at their and hitherto our common meeting house in Philadelphia near Mr. Andrews's lodgings." When the day arrived three Baptists appeared early in the morning, but none of the Presbyterians arrived in spite of the fact that

[9] *American Colonial Church Records* (W. S. Perry, ed.), II, 15.

[10] Edwards, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 107. The communication ends as follows: "Subscribed in the name of the rest. Philadelphia, Nov. 3, 1698

Jedediah Andrews	Herbert Corry
John Green	John Vanlear
Samuel Richardson	Daniel Green."
David Giffing	

a notice of the meeting had been sent to Andrews. Consequently the Baptists notified Andrews that "necessity constrains us to meet apart from you till such time as we receive an answer, and are assured that you can own us so as we can do you." [12] Following this misunderstanding, the Baptists withdrew from the Barbadoes storehouse to worship in the brewhouse of Anthony Morris.

It appears that Andrews had accomplished his design; for in writing to Thomas Revell of Burlington he stated, "Tho' we have got the Anabaptists out of the house yet our continuance there is uncertain; and therefore must think of building notwithstanding our poverty and the smallness of our number." [13] No matter how urgent the demand had been to worship separately, such action on the part of the Presbyterians was provocative of further discord. In the light of what was taking place in Europe and in some of the other colonies, any severe condemnation will have to be modified when it is recognized that strict denominational lines prevailed in that day.

As a result of this withdrawal of the Baptists, the congregation which worshiped in the Barbadoes storehouse became strictly Presbyterian in allegiance under the pastoral guidance of Jedidiah Andrews in 1698, which is recognized as the date of organization of the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia. Apparently the task confronting Andrews at this time was a discouraging one. Thomas Clayton reported in the closing months of 1698 that "the Presbyterian Minister . . . is so far from growing upon us that he threatens to go home in the Spring." Even though the conditions had been discouraging, Andrews continued to minister to Presbyterians in Philadelphia for almost fifty years. In the early years of this congregation a missionary, of the Church of England at Burlington, by the name of Talbot regarded the work of the

[12] Edwards, *op. cit.*, pp. 108–109.
[13] Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 314; Edwards, *ibid.*, p. 109.

Presbyterians in Philadelphia as ineffective for good; and George Keith said that they were "not like to increase." [14] But in spite of such predictions the congregation increased, and in 1704 a new building, located on High Street (now Market Street) between Second and Third streets, was ready for services. The growth of the congregation by the addition of various national groups led to the enlargement of the meetinghouse in 1729 through aid that came from Boston.[15]

The work of ministering to the growing Presbyterian congregation in Philadelphia increased to such an extent by 1733 that Jedidiah Andrews asked the Synod of Philadelphia for an assistant. Some difficulties within the congregation led to a separate meeting of Presbyterians under the ministry of Robert Cross in 1736. But in the fall of 1737, after Cross had joined the Presbytery of Philadelphia, the two groups united [16] and continued as the sole Presbyterian Church in the city until the formation of the Second Presbyterian Church six years later.

The circumstances that led to the establishment of this second congregation of Presbyterians in Philadelphia arose out of the preaching activities of George Whitefield in 1739 and 1740, and of Gilbert Tennent, a son of the venerable William Tennent of Log College fame. A new evangelistic emphasis, introduced by a group of revivalists who had been associated with Gilbert Tennent as students in the Log College and had become imbued with his religious zeal and enthusiasm, stirred the religious life of the colony to its very foundations. Whitefield's presence in America at this time added impetus to this movement and stirred the religious

[14] *American Colonial Church Records* (Perry), II, 15; *Protestant Episcopal Historical Collection,* p. xxxix.

[15] Letter of Jedidiah Andrews to Dr. Benjamin Colman of Boston, April 7, 1729 (O.S.) in Hazard's "Manuscript Notes on the Presbyterian Church," I; G. D. Baker, *Bi-Centennial of the First Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia,* pp. 81–84.

[16] *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* pp. 104–105, 130–131; Minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, II, 50 (1737).

consciousness of multitudes. As a result of this religious awakening church attendance, especially among the Presbyterians, increased to such an extent that in December of 1743 a group of 140 persons organized the Second Presbyterian Church, of which Gilbert Tennent became the first pastor.[17]

Almost twenty years elapsed before another movement was set afoot for the establishment of another Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia. In 1761 certain members of the First Presbyterian Church, who lived "in the South parts of the Town," moved to obtain a church building in Pine Street. A committee was appointed in August 1761 to obtain a deed for a lot that the proprietors had given for a church building. Progress in the formation of another congregation, however, was slow. In 1765 a proposal was made to the Second Presbyterian Church to unite with the First in the erection of a third church building, but the former refused to join in this project. Not until the following year was construction begun on the new meetinghouse on Pine Street; and the building was put into use in 1767.[18] Although for a time this society was regarded as a part of the First Presbyterian Church, in 1768 Samuel Eakin was called to the Third Presbyterian Church, and was ordained in the next year.[19]

The growth and expansion of Presbyterian adherents in Philadelphia led to the formation of another society before the outbreak of the American Revolution. In this instance a number of men in the Northern Liberties district of the city applied to the Presbytery of Philadelphia in the summer of 1773 to be taken under its care since the prospect of forming a congregation in the recently erected meetinghouse was good. For the encouragement of this new society the Presbytery of Philadelphia provided ministerial supplies.[20] The close of the

[17] E. R. Beadle, *The Old and the New*, 1743–1876, pp. 19–21.

[18] "Mem[a] Made From the Book of Minutes of Ist Pres. Church Beginning May 1, 1747 & Ending 22d July 1772," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, III, 179–181.

[19] Minutes of the Second Presbytery of Philadelphia, pp. 62–75.

[20] Minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, V, 154–160.

colonial period found the Presbyterians worshiping in four meetinghouses in Philadelphia as distinct societies. This finding corresponds with the statement of Robert Proud that the Presbyterians had four meetinghouses in the city. Proud also believed that some idea of the relative strength of the eight religious groups in Philadelphia could be obtained from the number of burials within each denomination.[21] The average yearly death rate from 1765 to 1774 on the basis of statistics which he used was as follows: Anglicans, 168; German Lutherans, 160; Quakers, 127; and Presbyterians, 116.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PRESBYTERY AT PHILADELPHIA

Although the number of Presbyterians in provincial Pennsylvania during the first decade of the eighteenth century was relatively small in comparison to those in the neighboring colonies, the most flourishing community of the province became the center of organized Presbyterianism. Although the motives that led the organizers of the Presbytery to select Philadelphia as the site of such a religious foundation are obscure, the fact that it was an important port of entry, a growing center of trade, and an active religious community, conveniently located for the Presbyterians in New Jersey and for those in the three lower counties, Maryland, and Virginia to the south, may have influenced their selection.

In a consideration of the first meeting of the Presbytery at Philadelphia it is difficult to make a statement as to the time of meeting because of the loss of the first leaf of the minutes of that Presbytery. Although some claims have been made in favor of the year 1705, most of the authorities agree that the first meeting was held in the spring of 1706.[22] Seven ministers joined in the organization of this Presbytery with a view

[21] Proud, *op. cit.*, II, 340.

[22] Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 140; Nevin, *A History of the Presbytery of Philadelphia*, p. 64.

. . . to meet yearly, and oftener, if necessary, to consult the most proper measures, for advancing religion, and propagating Christianity in our Various Stations, and to mentain Such a Correspondence as may conduce to the improvement of our Ministeriall ability by prescribing Texts to be preached on by two of our number at every meeting, which performance is Subjected to the censure of our Brethren.[23]

The seven men who made up this group were: Francis Makemie, John Hampton and George McNish whom Makemie brought to America from the British Isles in 1705, Samuel Davis, Nathaniel Taylor, John Wilson, and Jedidiah Andrews. All of these ministers had come from either Scotland or Ireland with the exception of Andrews, who had been born and educated in New England. Andrews at this time was the only active Presbyterian minister in the province of Pennsylvania. The others carried on their ministry in the surrounding colonies of New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, and in the three lower counties (the present state of Delaware). The minutes for March 1707 reveal that elders, in the person of Joseph Yard, William Smith, John Gardener, and James Stoddard, were present at that meeting of the Presbytery at Philadelphia. Joseph Yard was the elder from the Philadelphia congregation. With this group of Presbyterian ministers and elders as a nucleus, the foundations of an organized Presbyterianism in the English colonies were laid.

In the light of their European experiences such an organization was regarded as needful for "propagating the interest of religion." A threefold program was agreed upon in the meeting of March 1707, along the following lines:[24]

First, That every minister in their respective congregations, read and comment upon a chapter of the Bible every Lord's day, as discretion and circumstances of time, place, &c., will admit.

[23] Letter of Francis Makemie to Benjamin Colman, March 28, 1707, in Briggs, *op. cit.*, Appendix X.

[24] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 10.

Second over: That it be recommended to every minister of the Presbytery to set on foot and encourage private Christian societies.

Third over: That every minister of the Presbytery supply neighboring desolate places where a minister is wanting, and opportunity of doing good offers.

That these measures were carried out in most instances appears in a report of the Presbytery in May 1708. By this organization and program a uniformity of procedure in the interests of spreading the Gospel was set in motion. This program of uniformity, a common characteristic of European religious movements, was to become more pronounced as the century rolled on, and in turn crystallized certain elements of dissent that rocked the foundations of organized Presbyterianism in the fifth decade of the eighteenth century.

During the early stages of organized Presbyterianism, uniformity of action was sought by common consent in any program that was presented. Compliance with the aforesaid overtures had been readily and willingly given wherever circumstances permitted, except in one instance. Jedidiah Andrews, reared under Congregational influence, failed to comply with the first overture. Censure was not invoked against him, but the Presbytery made a recommendation to Andrews to "take it into his serious consideration of reading a chapter and making comment on the same." Already a diversity of interests was voicing its dissent in organized Presbyterianism. But if there was some slight difference over the matter of conducting worship, there was unanimity of spirit and purpose in furthering the work of establishing Christian societies and in fulfilling certain missionary obligations; for the Presbytery reported success in the carrying out of the second and third overtures.[25] Under such a program new congregations began to appear in various parts of the province.

[25] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 11.

A DECADE OF EXPANSION

Although this incentive for the formation of new societies had been given by the action of the Presbytery, Presbyterian adherents in Pennsylvania were not numerous enough to add many new societies during the first decade of the Presbytery's existence. A report on the number of congregations, appearing in a communication of the Presbytery in 1710, reveals that both the province and the three lower counties contained but five congregations.[26] Unfortunately the names of these congregations were not included in the report. How many of this number existed within the province before the formation of the Presbytery in 1706 is obscure because of the lack of adequate source material. Outside of the Philadelphia congregation it is doubtful whether any other active Presbyterian society which at a later date had any direct connection with the Presbytery existed in the province before 1706. Tradition holds that a society existed in Norriton township, Montgomery County, as early as 1698. David Evans is believed to have preached there before 1705, and it is claimed that Malachi Jones supplied the people of Norriton in 1714.[27] The records of the Presbytery, however, give no indication of the existence of such a society within the first decade of its existence. That at least two other religious groups, besides the Philadelphia congregation, which were Presbyterian in form and had some connection with the Presbytery, existed in the province before 1710 is apparent from the references in the minutes. The one group consisted of the Dutch settlements at Bensalem and Neshaminy, Bucks County, under the min-

[26] *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* p. 20. The letter gives the following information: "In all Virginia there is but one small congregation at Elizabeth River, and some few families favouring our way in Rappahanock and York. In Maryland only four, in Pennsylvania five, and in the Jerseys two, which bounds with some places of New York, makes up all the bounds we have any members from, and at present some of these be vacant."

[27] *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society,* XII, 128; Letter of Harry Pringle Ford, June 25, 1931; T. Murphy, *The Presbytery of the Log College,* pp. 202–203.

isterial care of Paulus Van Vleck, who had been admitted as a member of Presbytery.[28] In 1711, a year after Van Vleck had been admitted as a member, a declaration of trust was drawn up in the interests of the "society of people called Presbyterians" in Bensalem township.[29] The other group consisted of Welsh settlers in the Great Valley, Chester County, to whom a layman, David Evans, had been teaching and preaching.[30] If in addition to the Philadelphia, the Dutch, and the Welsh congregations, any other Presbyterian societies existed in the province before 1710, the records of the Presbytery do not reveal the fact.

Before the formation of the Synod of Philadelphia in 1717 a few more congregations came into existence in Pennsylvania. The Abington Presbyterian congregation was formed in 1714 with a membership of seventy persons under the ministerial care of Malachi Jones, who became a member of the Presbytery in the same year.[31] Although, as has already been indicated, the Welsh settlers in the Great Valley had been holding services, it was not until 1714 that the Presbytery recognized them as "a distinct society" from "the church and congregation of the Welsh-Tract." [32]

THE EXPANSION OF ORGANIZED PRESBYTERIANISM

The increase in congregations that characterized the growth of Presbyterianism in Pennsylvania was also in progress in some of the surrounding colonies. Organized Presbyterian-

[28] *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* pp. 15–16. The Dutch congregation which later became associated with the Dutch Reformed Church remained under the care of the Presbytery of Philadelphia for a number of years. Some of these Dutch settlers were instrumental in the founding of the Presbyterian congregations at Abington and at Neshaminy Creek. W. J. Hinke, "Church Record of Neshaminy and Bensalem, Bucks County, 1710–1738," *Jour. of the Presbyterian Hist. Soc.,* I, 111–134.

[29] Declaration of Trust to the Presbyterian Meeting in Bensalem, 1711.

[30] *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* pp. 15–16.

[31] Records of the Abington Presbyterian Church; N. Baggs, *History of the Abington Presbyterian Church,* p. 14; *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* p. 37.

[32] *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* p. 37.

ism in the form of presbyteries and synods could increase only in proportion to the growth of societies of Presbyterians who made provisions for the support of ministers of the Gospel. Hence with this augmentation of Presbyterian congregations there occurred a striking growth within the Presbytery during the period from 1706 to 1716. During that time the number of ministers increased from seven to seventeen. Of this number two had stated charges in the province; namely, Jedidiah Andrews in Philadelphia and Malachi Jones at Abington. The other Presbyterian communities within the province were served by these two men, or by the other ministers whom Presbytery designated to fulfil certain missionary obligations in Pennsylvania.

The members of the Presbytery in the meeting of September 1716, decided to establish subordinate presbyteries because they judged that such a course would "be more serviceable to the interest of religion." Four "subordinate" presbyteries were established: the presbyteries of Philadelphia, New Castle, Long Island, and Snow Hill. The Presbytery of Philadelphia included the congregations in East and West Jersey and that part of Pennsylvania north of the Great Valley in Chester County. Since the Presbytery of Snow Hill, which was to consist of the Presbyterian congregations on the peninsula between Chesapeake and Delaware bays, was not actually organized, the Presbytery of New Castle took in all the congregations to the south of the Great Valley within the province of Pennsylvania, the Territories, Maryland, and Virginia. The Presbytery of Long Island included the Presbyterian societies of Long Island and of the province of New York.[33]

This important step in organization had been taken to serve more adequately the increasing number of Presbyterians in the central portion of the British colonies. Although the members of the newly formed Synod of Philadelphia did not

[33] *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* pp. 45–46.

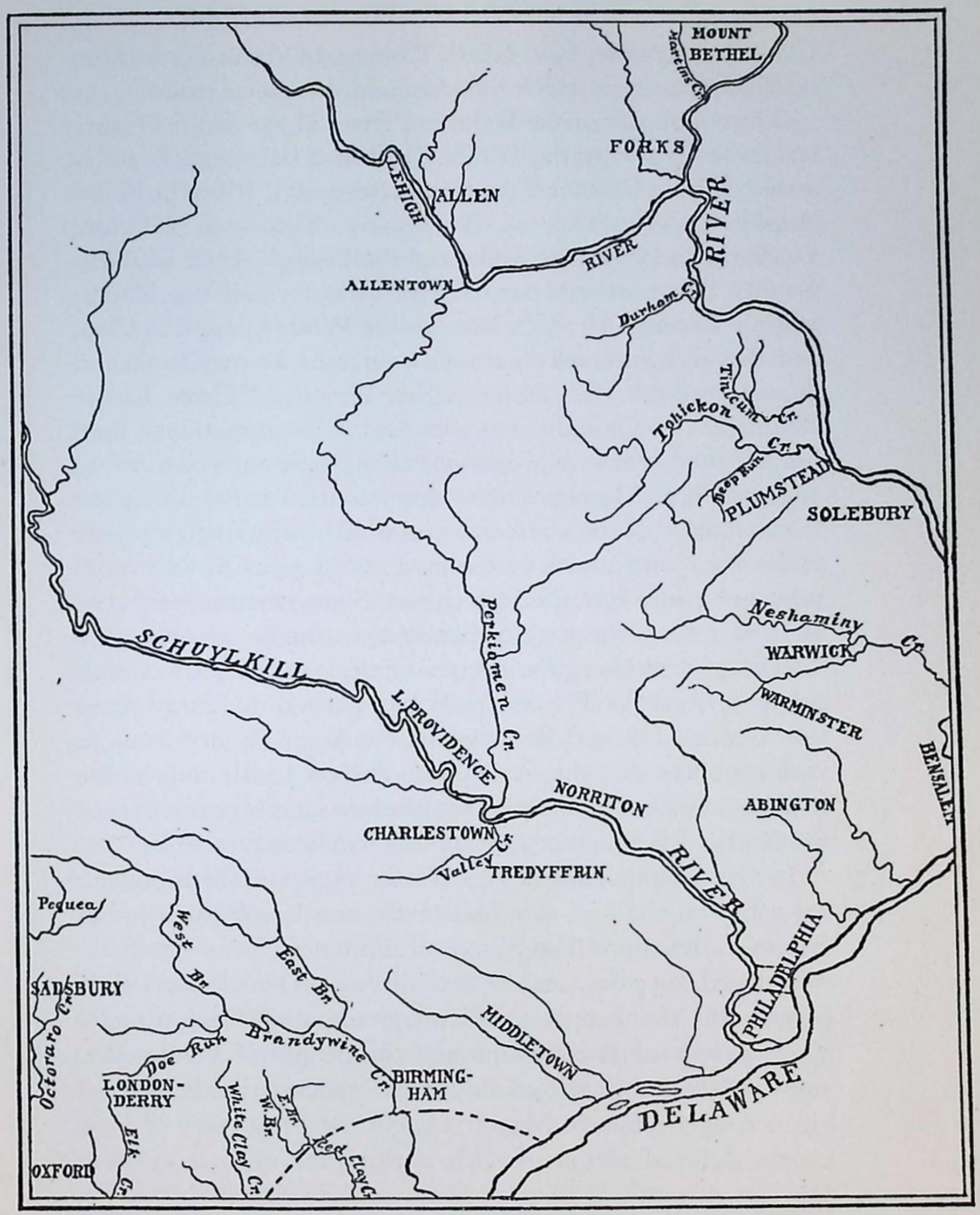
realize how readily a greater demand than that for which they had taken this step would be made upon their organized forces, it is significant that in the closing months of 1717, the year in which the first meetings of the recently established presbyteries were held, the rising tide of Irish immigration began to appear on the shores of Pennsylvania. Henceforth the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians were to play an important part in the growth of Presbyterianism in Pennsylvania.

IV

PRESBYTERIAN SETTLEMENTS EAST OF THE SUSQUEHANNA RIVER

SETTLEMENTS IN THE VALLEY OF THE DELAWARE

Before 1752 all three counties bordering on the Delaware River contained Presbyterian establishments. The Delaware River and its tributaries afforded convenient places of settlement for the incoming Presbyterians. Since these people who formed Presbyterian societies were usually located along streams, it became customary for presbyteries to refer to such congregations by the names of the streams along which the members had settled, or less frequently by the names of the townships in which they resided. During this early period congregational bounds, determined by natural limitations rather than by arbitrary provincial boundaries, were not restricted to one province. Therefore it was not unusual for some members of a religious society, living in one province, to attend services in a meetinghouse located in another province. This condition existed along those streams that had their sources in Pennsylvania, but the courses of which also cut their way through the three lower counties (Delaware) and Maryland. The congregation which appears in the minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle as that at the "Head of Christiana," founded within the triangular section, to the south of the Mason and Dixon line, that formerly belonged to Pennsylvania, and the congregations along the White Clay, Red



SOUTHEASTERN PENNSYLVANIA

Clay, Brandywine, Elk, North East, and Octoraro creeks can be cited as cases in which the aforesaid situation existed.

The tributaries of the Delaware River along which Presbyterians settled were the White Clay, Red Clay, and Brandywine creeks in Chester County, the Schuylkill River in Philadelphia County, and the Neshaminy, Tohickon, Tinicum, Durham, and Martins creeks and the Lehigh River in Bucks County (the northern part of which was formed into Northampton County in 1752). Because the White Clay, Red Clay, and Brandywine creeks had their sources in Pennsylvania and flowed through the border region into the "Three Lower Counties," no definite demarkation of congregational lines limited the border congregations along these three streams to one province. Members of congregations, located along the lower courses of these streams and wholly within what is now Delaware, joined with incoming Presbyterians in that rapid movement into the interior regions. Since streams were convenient routes for such a penetration, many of the early settlers moved along the courses of these streams into Pennsylvania. By 1721 Presbyterians had pushed their way along the White Clay and Brandywine creeks in Pennsylvania in such numbers that the Presbytery of New Castle took notice of their need for ministerial supplies by sending preachers of the Gospel for whom urgent appeals had been received.

In the eastern part of this border region in Birmingham township on the east side of Brandywine Creek the Presbyterians called upon the Synod of Philadelphia in 1720 for ministerial supplies, and Synod directed Daniel McGill to preach "to the people at Birmingham, on Brandywine."[1] "The people of Brandywine and the people of White clay, and the North side of Red clay creek" requested to be formed into a congregation in May 1722, but the Presbytery of New Castle delayed action of such a character until a minister

[1] *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* pp. 61, 64. Chadds Ford is within Birmingham township.

could be provided for them.[2] To the east of Birmingham a settlement of Presbyterians, known as "the people of Middletown," in Chester County (now Delaware County), along with the people of Brandywine were granted the liberty, in 1729, to build a meetinghouse by the Presbytery of New Castle.[3] At the western extremity of the arc that divides Delaware and Pennsylvania in the region known as the "Head of Christiana," Presbyterian foundations had been laid before 1708. Incoming Presbyterians increased the bounds of this congregation to include those people who settled in the triangular projection of Pennsylvania between Delaware and Maryland near the headwaters of Christiana Creek. Near the headwaters of the Brandywine the people of Sadsbury on the western branches of that creek and the people of Conestoga along the Susquehanna River called for presbyterial aid in 1721. Although Presbyterians had settled in the Forks of the Brandywine, the region between the East and West branches of Brandywine Creek, as early as 1724, they were too few to form a congregation. But by 1734 their numbers had increased to the extent that the Presbytery of Donegal granted them the privilege of erecting a meetinghouse, and in 1735 erected them into a distinct congregation. Division during the Great Awakening reached this section as early as 1741 and resulted in the erection of a separate meetinghouse a little to the east of the property of the old establishment. A union of these two parties occurred in 1768.[4]

To the north of this region and within Chester County Presbyterians had settled at an early date. In the earlier pages of this work these settlers have been referred to as the people of the Great Valley where Welsh Presbyterians had settled. As early as 1710 these people had engaged in religious wor-

[2] Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, I, 31, 42, 43.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, 144.
[4] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 24, 82; M'Clune, James, *History of the Presbyterian Church in the Forks of the Brandywine, Chester County, Pa.*, pp. 22, 23, 29; Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 385.

ship under the direction of a layman by the name of David Evans. The name Tredyffrin has been commonly used to indicate the people of this region since they were situated in the township of Tredyffrin.[5] In Charlestown township to the west of Tredyffrin another Presbyterian congregation came into existence with the break in 1741 among the Presbyterians into the "New Side" and the "Old Side." The Charlestown congregation was a "New Side" establishment.

In what is now Montgomery County, which in colonial times was included as part of Philadelphia County, several important Presbyterian communities arose. One of the early Presbyterian congregations established in this region was the Abington Presbyterian society, the founding of which has already been indicated. The Schuylkill River valley furnished another place of settlement for Presbyterians who gathered in Norriton township and reference to whom first appeared on the available records of the Presbytery of Philadelphia as suppliants for supplies in 1735. Although tradition has set the date of its founding at a much earlier period, adequate source material to verify the traditional claim has not been found by the author. The New Providence congregation which came into existence about seven years later as a result of the Old and New Side controversy remained as an independent society until 1768, when a union with Norriton (Norrington) occurred.[6]

In Bucks County there had arisen a number of Dutch settlements which served as a background for the growth of Presbyterian societies in that region. Reference has already been made to the early Dutch congregations that had assembled at Bensalem and Neshaminy in the first decade of the eighteenth century. The Bensalem Presbyterian congregation

[5] Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, pp. 12, 13, 15, 18, 22, 23, 28, 31, 40.

[6] Minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, 1733–1746, p. 12; "Memoirs of the Presbyterian Churches of Norrington and New Providence," *Jour. of Presby. Hist. Soc.*, II, 314–315.

as an organization distinct from the aforesaid Dutch congregation was established in 1719.[7] The strength of this society was augmented by the influx of the Scotch-Irish during this period. In 1726 or 1727 this congregation was ministered to by that sturdy pioneer of Presbyterian education in Pennsylvania, William Tennent. While serving this congregation, he was afforded an opportunity to do missionary work in the Forks of the Neshaminy, where a congregation known by that name arose about 1724, and whither he removed a few years after his arrival in this region. At the time of the schism a group of New Side adherents separated from this congregation in December 1743, and called Charles Beatty, under whom a partial union was brought about approximately fifteen years later after the death of Francis McHenry. Still another Presbyterian society came into existence in Newtown, situated about ten miles directly east of the Neshaminy settlement. In 1734 a petition to the Presbytery of Philadelphia "from some People at and about Newtown" supplicated for the services of William Tennent "one Lord's Day every month." The Presbytery granted the request.[8] It continued as a separate congregation until 1768, when it united with Bensalem.

Farther to the northward in Plumstead township, Bucks County, Presbyterians had become so numerous that the Presbytery of Philadelphia agreed to furnish them with ministerial supplies in response to their request in 1735. As early as 1736 these people are referred to in the minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia as the people of Deep Run, after the creek that flows through that region.[9] Along the course of the Tohickon Presbyterians had gathered in sufficient numbers to present a call to James Campbell in 1739. Presbytery, how-

[7] "Church Record of Neshaminy and Bensalem, Bucks County, 1710–1738," *Jour. of Presby. Hist. Soc.*, I, 111–112, 128.

[8] "Memoirs of the Presbyterian Church of Neshaminy," *Jour. Presby. Hist. Soc.*, II, 221–223; Minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, III, 7, 22.

[9] Minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, III, 23, 43.

ever, did not deem the time ripe to grant the call, but directed him to serve them occasionally. As the people to the north of Tohickon Creek increased, the foundations for another congregation which appears on the records in 1763 as the congregation of Tinicum were laid. This society was in the township of Tinicum. Although the Presbytery of Philadelphia directed the people of Tohickon and Deep Run to unite in 1759 in requesting the Presbytery of New Brunswick to supply them, the people of Tohickon in 1763, as a distinct congregation, were known as the congregation of Tinicum.[10] Another group of Presbyterians settled in Solebury township, and sent a call with Newtown for the ministerial services of Henry Martin in 1753. But by 1771 their lot was such that they were unable to raise sufficient money to pay for a quarter of a minister's services. Thereafter they were to be supplied as the Presbytery determined.[11]

Blazing the way into the wilderness, Scotch-Irish Presbyterians settled in the upper parts of Bucks County, which was formed into Northampton County in 1752. Two important settlements arose in this region drained by the Lehigh and Delaware rivers. One of these settlements was the "Irish Settlement" or "Craig's," where people from along the Neshaminy and from parts of New York and New Jersey established themselves as early as 1728. Craig's settlement was located in the "Forks of Delaware" along the Lehigh River in what is East Allen Township. The other establishment was in the vicinity of Martins Creek which flowed into the north branch of the Delaware. It was known as the "Hunter" or "North Settlement" which extended along the Delaware River in both Upper and Lower Mt. Bethel townships. As early as 1731 Thomas Craig, founder of the Craig settle-

[10] Minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, III, 69, 76, 77; V, 6, 7, 44.

[11] *Ibid.*, V, 117; "Memoirs of the Presbyterian Churches of Tinicum and Newtown," *Jour. Presby. Hist. Soc.*, II, 310; Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 662.

ment, appeared as an elder at the Synod of Philadelphia.[12] Beyond these settlements there appeared another group of people whom the Presbytery of Abington designated as "New England over the Mountain." [13] Much of the religious work throughout this region in the early period of these settlements was of a missionary character. The records of the Presbytery of New Brunswick, organized in 1738, contain numerous entries of calls from the Forks of Delaware for ministerial supplies. It was this section of Pennsylvania in which David Brainerd, courageously struggling against physical weaknesses, ministered to both the whites and the Indians. The congregation along the Lehigh River appears on the records in 1769 as "the congregation of Allentown, in the forks of Delaware." [14]

The condition of the congregations along the Delaware River to the north of Philadelphia varied throughout the colonial period. When the County of Northampton was laid out in 1752, it was estimated that Allen and Mount Bethel townships contained about six hundred Scotch-Irish, many of whom were Presbyterian adherents.[15] The course of Scotch-Irish immigration did not continue to strengthen the Presbyterian interests in the eastern part of the province in the same manner in which it developed those interests in the central and western reaches of the province. The attraction of the fertile lands to the west and the coming of the Germans and the withdrawal of members from the congregation in East Allen township in the seventeen sixties reduced the number

[12] *The Northampton County Historical and Genealogical Society,* I, 71; W. H. Egle, "Scotch-Irish Landmarks in Pennsylvania," in *The Scotch-Irish in America, Proceedings and Addresses of the Eighth Congress* (1896), p. 72; *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* p. 99.

[13] Minutes of the Presbytery of Abington, pp. 54–55.

[14] *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* p. 397.

[15] J. C. Clyde," "History of the Allen Township Presbyterian Church . . . ," *The Northampton County Historical . . . Soc.,* I, 35, 269–283; W. S. Ely, "Scotch Irish Families," *The Scotch-Irish in America . . . , Ninth Congress, 1900,* pp. 93–94.

of Presbyterians in the settlements along the Delaware River and its tributaries. Such withdrawals necessitated the union of several congregations for the raising of sufficient funds to obtain the services of a minister.[16]

SETTLEMENTS EAST OF THE SUSQUEHANNA RIVER

To the west of White Clay Creek and the head of Christiana Creek the fertile valleys of several other streams afforded suitable places for settlement to incoming Presbyterians. Chief of these streams, having their sources in Pennsylvania and flowing through parts of Maryland into Chesapeake Bay or the Susquehanna River were Little Elk, Big Elk, Northeast, Octoraro, and Conowingo. Since the necessities of life demanded immediate attention, the incoming Presbyterians settled wherever land was available with no immediate concern as to ownership or purchase. Although some of the immigrants appealed to the provincial authorities to designate places of settlement, others squatted on the borderlands, the ownership of which was in dispute between the authorities of Pennsylvania and Maryland. Within a decade flourishing Presbyterian settlements throughout this border region and along the eastern shore of the Susquehanna River arose.

One of the early Presbyterian settlements, west of Christiana Creek along the Pennsylvania-Maryland border, that sought ministerial supplies was situated along the Northeast, which had its source in Pennsylvania and flowed through Maryland until it found an outlet into Chesapeake Bay. The region along the Northeast, in what was known as the "Nottingham Lots," was opened to Quaker settlers from Chester County in 1701 by grants made by the Commissioners of Property of Pennsylvania. About 1714 some Scotch-Irish settlers obtained land contiguous to the "Nottingham Lots"

[16] Minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, V, 139, 147; R. Webster, "The Old Church in Allen," *Northampton County Historical . . . Society,* I, 235; "Memoirs of the Presbyterian Churches of Abington, Newtown, Norrington . . ." in *Jour. of Presby. Hist. Soc.,* II, 310–338.

and a little later became residents on the land included in the original grants.[17] The Presbyterians along this stream were numerous enough in March 1716/7 (O. S.) to present a supplication for ministerial supplies at the first meeting of the Presbytery of New Castle. The minutes of this Presbytery reveal that "the people of North East were very desirous of having the Gospel preached among them by the members of this presbytery." Although the Presbytery directed four ministers to supply one sabbath each during the period from May to August, only George Gillespie and David Evans supplied them in May and July respectively.[18]

"A certain number of people lately come from Ireland having settled about the branches of Elk River" sent Thomas Reed and Thomas Caldwell as commissioners to the New Castle Presbytery in May 1720, to request that a minister be sent to preach to them and to investigate their circumstances so that "the presbytery may the more clearly know how to Countenance their design of having the Gospel settled among them." Samuel Young was sent in response to this request; and about a month later "the people about the head of Elk River" were erected into a congregation.[19] Later this congregation was designated as the Upper Elk congregation, then as that of East Nottingham, and subsequently as the Rock congregation.[20]

Six years after the erection of this congregation at the head of the Elk River the New Castle Presbytery received "a Supplication from some few familys Inhabiting y^{e} North east side of Great Elk now under M^{r} Houston's Regular care" to be erected into a distinct congregation.[21] But it was not until 1728 that Presbytery regarded the time ripe to erect these

[17] *Archives of Maryland,* XXV, 404–405; George Johnston, *History of Cecil County, Maryland,* pp. 136, 137, 140, 155.

[18] Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, I, 2, 4.

[19] *Ibid.,* I, 23, 24, 26, 29.

[20] Du Bois, *The New London Presbyterian Church and Congregation,* p. 8.

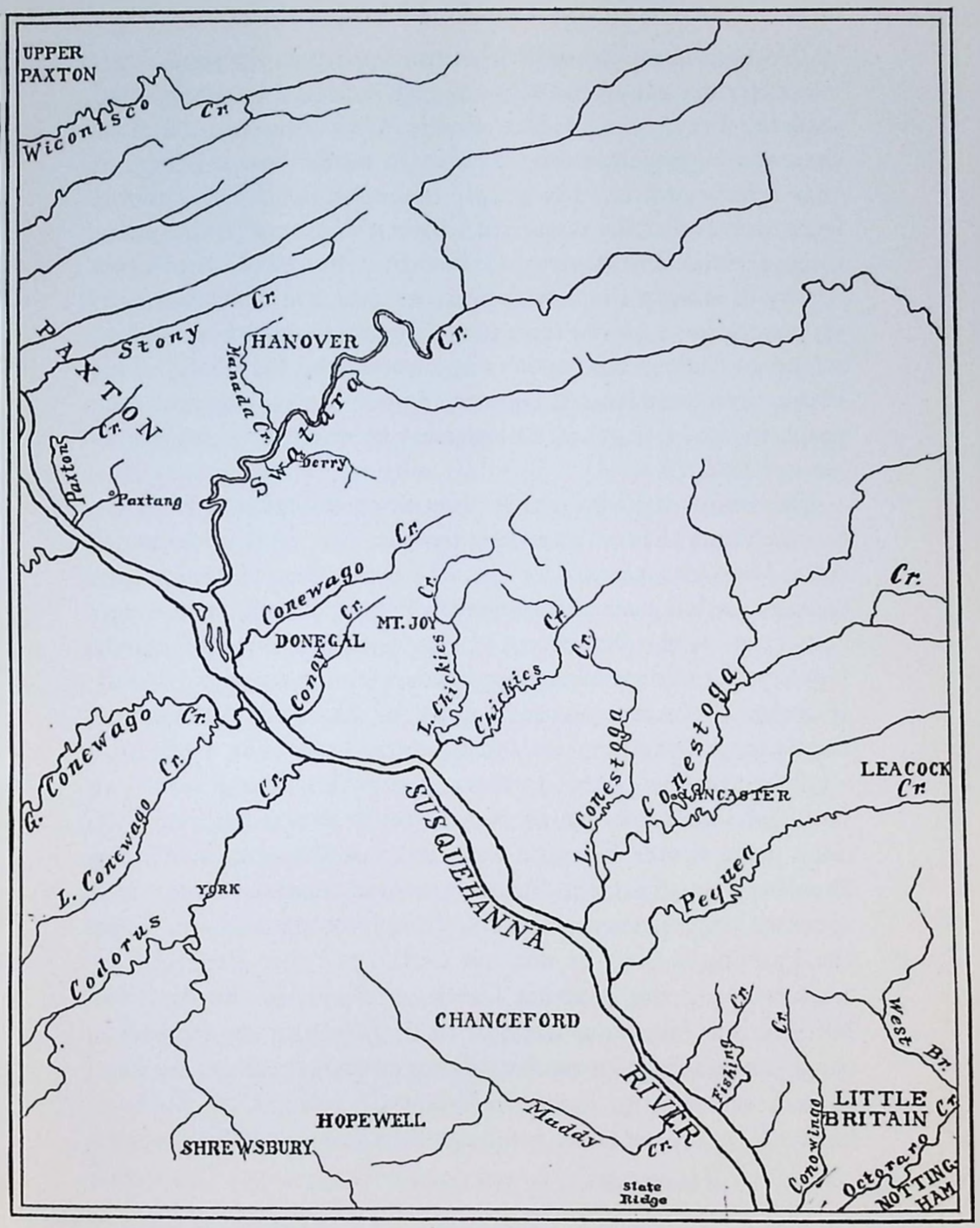
[21] Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, I, 106. In 1724 Joseph Houston had been installed as pastor of the Head of the Elk congregation.

people between the Big Elk and White Clay Creek into a separate congregation, because some of the members of the new congregation would be taken from the congregation of Elk River. When the fear that a transfer of members from the older congregation would not endanger its existence the new religious society was erected and designated as the New London congregation.

Lying between the West Branch of Brandywine Creek and the head of the Octoraro in Sadsbury township was a region in which Presbyterians had gathered in such numbers that appeals for ministerial supplies reached the Presbytery of New Castle in June 1721; and in the September minutes the name "Akterara" was applied to the people of this region.[22] These people were supplied by ministers sent out by Presbytery at intervals until Adam Boyd became their pastor in 1724. Within this decade two other Presbyterian settlements arose along the course of Octoraro Creek. As early as March 1724/5 (O. S.) the Presbytery of New Castle responded to the appeals of Presbyterians located near the mouth of the Octoraro. Presbytery continued to refer to these settlers as the people at the mouth of the Octoraro for a number of years. Then the name Nottingham was applied. After 1730 it was known as the West Nottingham congregation to distinguish it from the congregation of East Nottingham.[23] By 1727 the people on the west side of the Octoraro supplicated for one third of the time of Adam Boyd, who was located at Upper Octoraro. These Presbyterian settlers were called the "people of Midle Octarara."[24]

Although Presbyterians had settled along the eastern shore of the Susquehanna River and along some of its tributaries before the close of the second decade of the eighteenth century, it was not until the next decade that a definite activity

[22] Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, I, 31, 42.
[23] *Ibid.*, I, 95, 98, 104, 109, 112.
[24] *Ibid.*, I, 118, 121, 123.



LOWER SUSQUEHANNA RIVER AREA

of Presbyterian communities became apparent. By June 1721, Presbyterians along the Conestoga Creek had communicated with the Presbytery of New Castle. Unfortunately the exact character of the business remains in doubt because there is only a reference to "the people in Canastoga." Two months later, however, "the people of Chicken's Longus" (Chiquesalunga Creek) sent Andrew Galbreath with a petition to Presbytery to supply them with preaching of the Gospel. In response to this appeal Presbytery directed George Gillespie to attend to their needs, which appointment he fulfilled.[25] This Presbyterian settlement became famous as the Donegal congregation in later years, and appears by that name in the records of 1723.[26]

The influx of additional settlers along the tributaries of the Susquehanna River soon resulted in the establishment of other Presbyterian communities. In September 1724, Presbyterians, settled near the source of Pequea Creek, sent a representative to the Presbytery of New Castle to seek the regular services of a minister. "A Supplication from some new Settlers at Switara" in the present county of Dauphin was sent to Presbytery in September 1729, in the hope that a minister would be sent to preach to them. James Anderson, located at Donegal, was directed to supply them every fifth sabbath during the winter.[27] In the early years of the next decade the Presbyterians along the Swatara formed themselves into two separate organizations: one the Derry society and the other the Paxtang society. It was not until 1736 that Presbyterian settlers along the Manada Creek, a branch of the Swatara, had become numerous enough to be formed into a separate congregation, known as the Hanover congregation, in East Hanover township, Dauphin County.[28] East of the Susquehanna River these three congregations remained the outposts

[25] Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, I, 35, 41.
[26] *Ibid.*, I, 73.
[27] *Ibid.*, I, 154, 164, 174.
[28] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 100, 127, 133.

of the Presbyterians until after the French and Indian War.

Within the bounds of the Brandywine Creek on the east, the Susquehanna River on the west, the Pennsylvania-Maryland border on the south, and a line extending from the source of Brandywine Creek to the source of Manada Creek on the north, numerous other congregations arose as a result of the increase in the number of Presbyterians in this region. As the new arrivals appeared on the scene, they settled on the borders of the older congregations of which they became a part until their numbers had increased sufficiently to entitle them to separate into distinct societies. To safeguard the older congregations from being weakened by the withdrawal of members upon the erection of other societies, presbyteries usually determined the approximate location of the meetinghouses of the new societies and fixed the bounds between the congregations by perambulations.[20] Although the distances between the meetinghouses differed, the presbyteries directed the new building to be located not less than ten miles from the old meetinghouse. Occasionally, when the newly formed society would not comply with the presbyterial recommendation concerning the location of their meetinghouse, ministerial supplies were refused until the people complied with the order of Presbytery. Under such circumstances additional congregations arose within this region that at the present time consists of the major portion of Lancaster County, the western half of Chester County, and the southern section of Dauphin County.

Within the western portion of Chester County the Presbyterian societies that arose before the French and Indian War were: Faggs Manor in Londonderry township near the source of the Big Elk, Doe Run along a creek by the same name, within the Forks of the Brandywine a society known by that name, and in the southwestern part of the county West Not-

[20] A practice by which a presbytery selected a number of individuals to establish a boundary line between congregations.

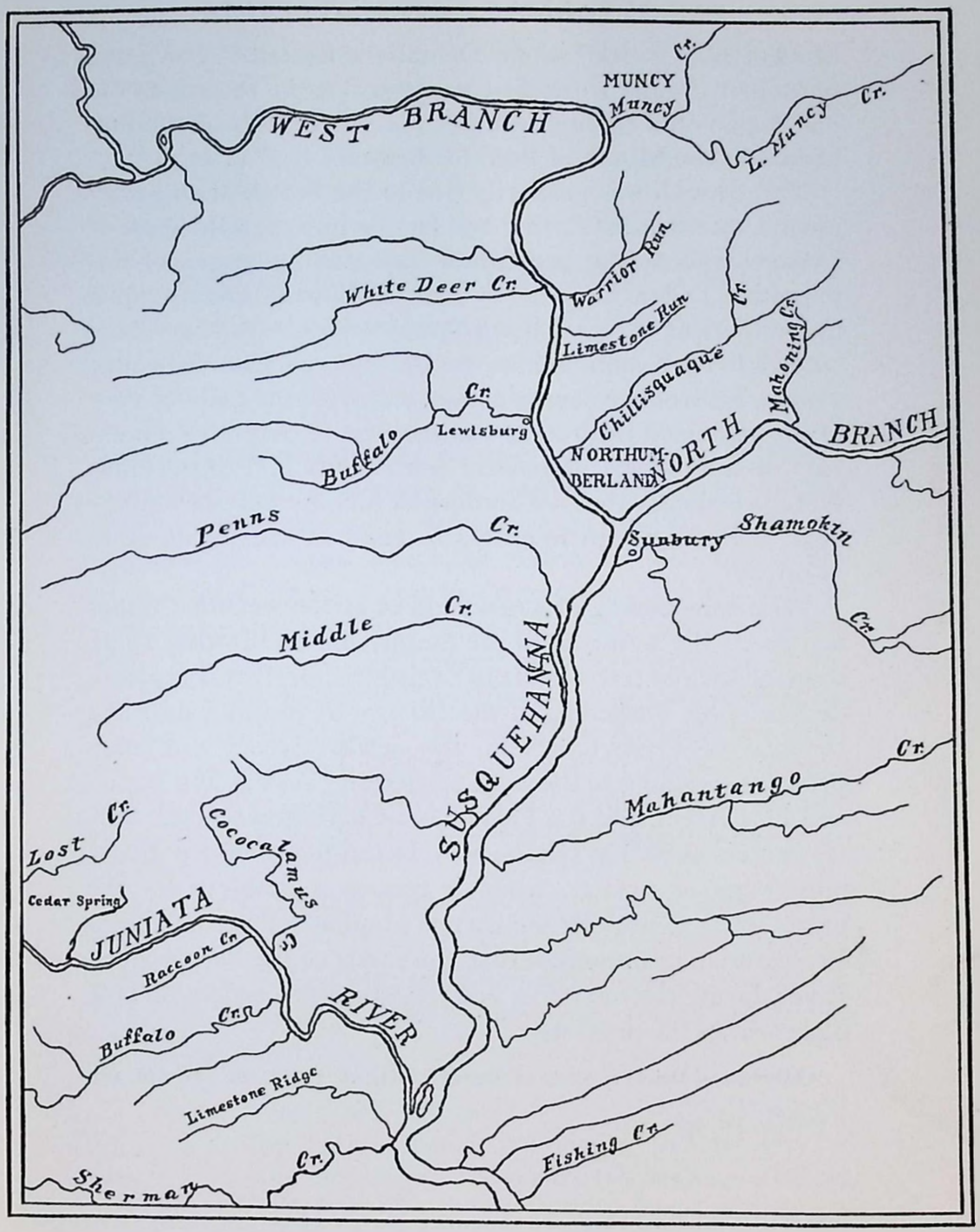
tingham.[30] In the southern triangle of Lancaster County between Octoraro Creek and Susquehanna River, Chestnut Level, Little Britain, Conowingo, Fishing Creek, and Conestoga were formed into societies within the same period. North of Pequea Creek, Leacock, Lancaster, and Conewago were active societies before 1756, and before the close of the colonial era a congregation arose at Mount Joy. There were scattered adherents of the Presbyterian Church within the present counties of Berks and Lebanon.[31] Other Presbyterian establishments arose in this southeastern section of Pennsylvania between the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers before the close of the colonial period. Most of these societies arose from the older Presbyterian centers to enjoy the convenience of local worship and as the result of the schismatic tendencies of the Great Awakening.

NORTHERN OUTPOSTS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Before the close of the colonial era Presbyterians had pushed their way northward beyond the frontier communities of Derry, Paxtang, and Hanover. Upper Paxton, in Dauphin County, supplicated for supplies as early as 1767. Growing numbers of Presbyterians along the west branch of the Susquehanna warranted application for supplies as early as 1772. The settlements, appealing for ministerial supplies during the next few years, were located in Chillisquaque Valley, at the mouth of Warrior Run, at the mouth of Buffalo Creek, and in the Bald Eagle region on the west side of the West Branch of the Susquehanna, in Muncy township along Muncy Creek, near the confluence of the East and West branches of the Susquehanna at Sunbury, and at "the mouth

[30] Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, I, 125–126; "Records of Old Londonderry Congregation," *Jour. of Presby. Hist. Soc.*, VIII, 367; *American Colonial Church Records,* II, 77, 115.

[31] Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, I, 160, 355; *ibid.,* III, 2, 8, 12; Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 4, 5, 137, 151, 157, 167, 176, 178, 243, 249; *ibid.,* II, 88, 236, 283; *American Colonial Church Records,* II, 345, 387.



UPPER SUSQUEHANNA RIVER AREA

of Mahoning Creek" where Danville is located.[32] The name of Robert Cooper is the first to appear on the records as the one "appointed to supply upon the W. Branch of Susquehannah at the Mouth of Buffaloe Branch . . ." in 1772.[33]

This growth was primarily due to the Scotch-Irish settlements that extended farther and farther into the wilderness of Pennsylvania as the population increased by means of immigration and a large birth rate. Following closely upon the settlement of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in numbers large enough to form communities, the Presbyterian Church became a powerful frontier denomination, and from the point of view of an organized institution was the first to play a significant part in the control of pioneer settlements in Pennsylvania. Not infrequently the civil authorities found it necessary to appeal to Presbyterian ministers to assist in the maintenance of order.

With the opening of a new field of settlement for Presbyterians on the west side of the Susquehanna following 1730, some of the old settlements in eastern Pennsylvania began to decline. This weakening of the old centers resulted from the removal of Presbyterians to the newly opened and more productive regions to the west. Settlements such as Mt. Bethel and East Allen, and the Providence-Charlestown-Great Valley centers as well as others, were forced to combine to maintain religious services, while it became a problem for the presbyteries to provide ministerial supplies for the numerous Presbyterian communities that arose west of the Susquehanna River during the forty-five years in which this expansion took place within the province.

[32] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, III, 53, 54, 66, 88, 126, 130, 132, 148, 195, 197, 214.
[33] *Ibid.*, III, 66.

V

EXPANSION BEYOND THE SUSQUEHANNA RIVER

LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS

Seizing the opportunity to dispose of their lands at advantageous prices to newcomers, or irked by the intrusions within their own communities by new groups of settlers, namely the Germans, or restless under the restrictive measures of the Quaker government, many venturesome and spirited Presbyterian adherents responded to the call of the wilderness as new fields for conquest. Subsequent to the penetration of the wilderness by the fur traders, thousands of settlers were attracted to the new lands to the west of the Susquehanna River within a score of years. The number of white inhabitants in the country, comprising the present counties of Cumberland and Franklin, by 1751 has been placed at approximately five thousand.[1]

As early as August 1727, James Logan received a letter from the Indian, Captain Civility, in which the latter requested that "Christians, or white people" should not be permitted to settle west of the Susquehanna. Logan in replying to Civility stated:

. . . 'tis our desire, y^{t} none may settle there, besides John Hendricks, one more to keep him company, & therefore we shall be very well pleased, if y^{e} Indians will hinder all, Christians or white people, whatso-

[1] J. B. Scouller, *History of the Big Spring Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church,* p. 5.

ever English, Dutch & of all other nations, from making any settlem^{ts} on y^{e} farther or West side of the Sasquehanna. . . . And we expect, y^{t} while we doe not allow our People to settle there, you will take y^{e} utmost care to p$\bar{}$vent [prevent] y^{e} Marylanders coming thither.[2]

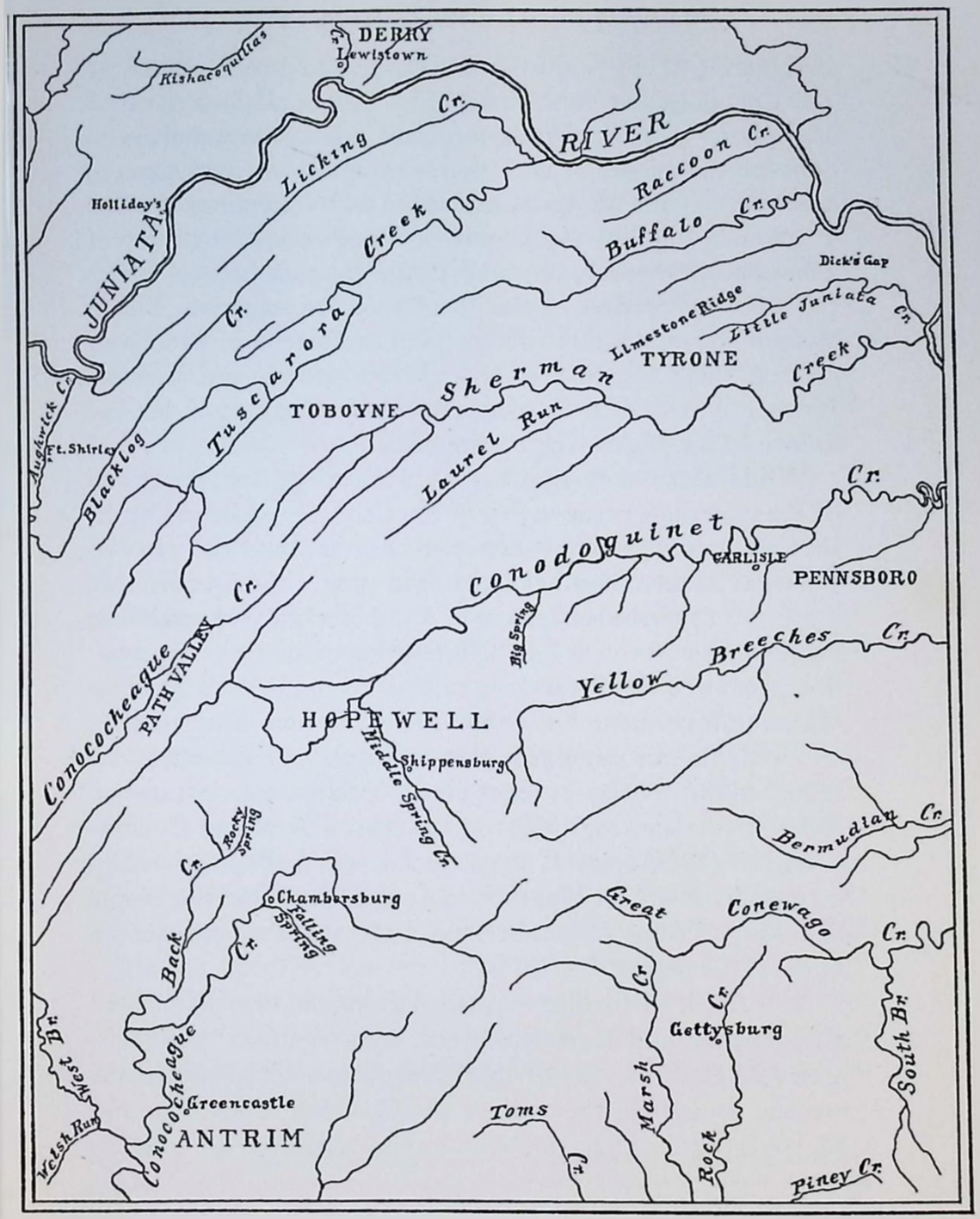
But in spite of such an understanding between the provincial government and the Indians it was inevitable that such barriers could not long check the westward advance. With the opening of the fourth decade of the eighteenth century settlers began to push across the Susquehanna into the Cumberland Valley. The number of Presbyterians taking part in this movement was so numerous that in the fall of 1734 Alexander Craighead was directed to "supply over the River [Susquehanna]" in November. This response for the fulfillment of the spiritual needs of these settlers prompted "a supplication from y^{e} setlement over y^{e} river desiring supplies" in April of the following year. Both Craighead and John Thomson were directed to supply there two sabbaths each before the June meeting of Presbytery, at which meeting it was reported that both had fulfilled the appointments.[3] Thereafter the Presbytery of Donegal periodically provided "the People of Conodeguainot, or beyond Susquehanna" with ministerial supplies.

By the Indian purchase of 1736, the land from the Susquehanna River westward, to include the major portions of the present counties of Cumberland and Franklin, was opened to the new settlers. By this action the provincial government removed one obstacle to this westward movement in which the Presbyterians played an important part. The growing numbers of Presbyterians along the Conodoguinet Creek led to the formation of a congregation in this region as early as 1736, if not earlier.[4] Township divisions formed the basis for

[2] Logan Papers, Letter Books, III, 106–107, 170.

[3] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 50, 57, 62.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, 139. "Daniel Williams being appointed collector of supply money of ye upper part of ye Cong^{n} of Conedeguoinet promiseth to doe his best to gather up what arrears are due on that people ag^{t} our next & also to acquaint ye lower part of that settlement to doe likewise."



SOUTH CENTRAL PENNSYLVANIA

designating these people in the upper and lower regions of the Conodoguinet as the people of Hopewell and those of Pennsboro in 1737. Presbytery sent one of its members to convene the people of both these regions in order to come to some agreement for the construction of "a meeting-house at y^{e} great Spring" by the people of Hopewell. The people of Pennsboro, however, objected to the location because it was too near the borders of the Pennsboro congregation. But in spite of this opposition to their plan the people of Hopewell erected their building in the vicinity of the spring, were formed into a distinct congregation in 1737, and became known as the Big Spring congregation.[5]

While these congregations were forming, another group of Presbyterians in the valley of the Conococheague in Franklin County had grown to such an extent that the Presbytery of Donegal directed Samuel Gelston to supply there in October 1736. By 1738 the settlement of Presbyterians had become so large that a movement for the formation of another congregation prompted the Presbytery to send Samuel Black into that region to investigate "into their disorder" and to baptize the children. In this same year the Presbytery of Donegal consented to the division of these people into two groups; one on the east side and the other on the west side of the Conococheague. The Hopewell congregation sent a commissioner in the person of Robert Henry with a complaint "that the people of falling Springs [Chambersburg] are about to encroach on Hopewell congreg^{n}." [6]

As a result of further expansion from the east side of the Susquehanna and from the recent congregational establishments on the west side of that river, Presbyterians were numerous enough in the valleys of the Great Conewago and Marsh creeks in 1740 to obtain ministerial supplies.[7] During

[5] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 142, 145, 147, 148, 152, 155.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, 164, 167, 169.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, 194.

the subsequent years until the outbreak of the French and Indian War the expansion of Presbyterians continued within the region lying between the Susquehanna River and the Tuscarora Mountains. The two settlements of Great Conewago Creek and of Marsh Creek had grown to such an extent by 1742 that a committee of Presbytery decided that two meetinghouses were needed. Settlements along Bermudian Creek and Yellow Breeches were sufficiently large in 1745 to appeal to Presbytery for ministerial supplies. Those Presbyterian settlers on the south side of Yellow Breeches formed the Monaghan congregation of a later date. Before the close of this decade others had pushed their way to the course of Middle Spring Creek on the western bounds of the present county of Cumberland.[8]

How far westward Presbyterians had moved in sufficient numbers to obtain supplies from Presbytery, when the hostilities between the Indians and French on one side and the colonists on the other broke out in 1754, is obscure. Once more the hiatus, caused by the absence of records from 1750 to 1759, obscures the course of Presbyterian expansion. By the time that Cumberland County was formed in 1750, settlers had pushed their way into the valleys of the Juniata River, Sherman, Tuscarora, Aughwick, and Big and Little Cove creeks, and into Path Valley, before any purchase had been made from the Indians.[9] Although the claim that these settlers were Presbyterians cannot be made with absolute certainty, the fact that the Presbyterians who had settled in the valley of the West Branch of Conococheague could easily move into the fertile Path Valley and beyond, coupled with the evidence that many of these settlers were Scotch-Irish, points to the

[8] *Ibid.*, I, 302, 306–307.

[9] In April 1749, Richard Peters informed the proprietors that "numbers are going over the Hills to Settle in the Lands at Juniata, & all along the Road to Allegheny . . . places among and just behind the Blue Hills & between these & another range of hills called the Licking Creeke Hills." Letter Book, Richard Peters, 1737–1750, p. 37.

likelihood of Presbyterians being among those who were ejected by the provincial authorities.[10]

EXPANSION IN SPITE OF WAR

A more serious obstacle than governmental opposition to the westward advance of the settlers, Presbyterian as well as others, occurred from 1755 to 1764, during which period the marauding bands of Indians harassed the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania. Stirred to ruthless retaliations by the encroachments upon their lands by the settlers and by French instigation against the English, the Indians became so active after the defeat of Braddock's forces that in a few years the frontier had receded to the vicinity of Marsh Creek. And although fugitives poured into the more thickly inhabited settlements, such as Shippensburg, Carlisle, and York, it was not long until the dread of recent fears had been mastered, and they retraced their pathways to reclaim their losses and even to push beyond their former settlements. With the purchase of land from the Indians in 1758, the bounds for expansion were extended northward beyond Penns Creek and as far westward as the present western limits of Blair and Bedford counties.

[10] *Pennsylvania Colonial Records,* V, 440–445. The names of these trespassers are listed as follows: In the Juniata region William White, George Cahoon, David Hiddleston, George and William Galloway, and Andrew Lycon had settled; along the Sherman Creek to the north of the Blue Mountains James Parker, Thomas Parker, Owen McKeeb, John McClare, Richard Kirkpatrick, James Murray, John Scott, Henry Gass, John Cowan, Simon Girtee, and John Kilaugh had made settlement; in Path Valley, Abraham Slack, James Blair, Moses Moore, Arthur Dunlap, Alexander McCartee, David Lewis, Adam McCartie, Felix Doyle, Andrew Dunlap, Robert Wilson, Jacob Pyatt, Jacob Pyatt, Junior, William Ramage, Reynolds Alexander, Samuel Patterson, Robert Baker, John Armstrong, and John Potts; in Aughwick Valley Peter Falconer, Nicholas Delong, Samuel Perry, and John Charleton; in the Big Cove Valley Andrew Donaldson, John Macclelland, Charles Stuart, James Downy, John Macmean, Robert Kendell, Samuel Brown, William Shepperd, Roger Murphy, Robert Smith, William Dickey, William Millican, William Macconnell, Alexander Macconnell, James Campbell, William Carrell, John Martin, John Jamison, Hans Patter, John Maccollin, Adam Macconnell, James Wilson, and John Wilson. (The spelling appearing here is the same as that which appeared in the Colonial Records.)

The records of the Presbytery of Donegal again furnish material on the advance of Presbyterian interests the year after this purchase of land had been made. Names that had not appeared in the earlier accounts become commonplace references on the records. One of the earliest references to a new settlement of Presbyterians is that of Toms Creek between Marsh and Conococheague creeks. The people of Toms Creek became involved in a boundary dispute with those of Marsh Creek in 1759. Provision for supplying with ministers York and Shrewsbury (both along Codorus Creek), Round Hill, Chanceford, Slate Ridge—all within what comprised York County—were made in the first few years of the sixties.[11]

The regions beyond the frontier settlements of 1754 began to be populated to such an extent by Presbyterians before the close of the French and Indian War that requests for supplies came from settlements along Sherman Creek, Juniata River, and in Path Valley. Bedford was the farthest settlement to the west from which supplications for ministerial supplies came to the Presbytery of Donegal and for which supplies were provided in 1763.[12] This year proved to be a hard one for these venturesome settlers because of the Indian activity under Pontiac's leadership. At this time Bedford was the "extreme verge of the frontier" in Pennsylvania.[13] Exposed to the mercy of Indian scalping parties, the frontier families were reduced to deplorable conditions. Settlers in the Juniata, Sherman, and Tuscarora valleys felt the merciless hand of this "ruthless fury." Colonel Bouquet reported in July 1763, upon his arrival at Carlisle, that

> The list of the people known to be killed increases very fast every hour. The desolation of so many families, reduced to the last extremity of want and misery; the despair of those who have lost their parents,

[11] Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, III, 2, 12, 13; Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, II, 3, 11, 15.

[12] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, II, 25, 48, 58, 73, 76.

[13] Francis Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac and the Indian War after the Conquest of Canada,* II, 3, 4.

relations, and friends, with the cries of distracted women and children, who fill the streets,—form a scene painful to humanity, and impossible to describe.[14]

Armed bands of settlers who went out to warn and succor the inhabitants of the frontier who had not sought safety at the first signs of danger found cabins burnt, fields of grain destroyed, the dead bodies of settlers strewn along the way. Such was the devastating force that terrified the settlements of the frontier and brought destruction and ruin to many venturesome settlers, among whom the Presbyterians were numerous.

One inhabitant in the vicinity of Fort Bedford estimated that nearly five hundred families fled within a week from the frontier to the more inhabited parts. Prior to Bouquet's march to Fort Pitt the frontiersmen and their families fled to Shippensburg, Carlisle, and to the forts along the frontier. Following the victory of Bouquet at Bushy Run in August 1763, the fugitives began their return to the farms from which they had so recently fled. Protection, afforded by a small body of riflemen raised from the frontiersmen, was so effective that the settlers were not driven out again by the Indians. Such a settled state of affairs soon acted as an incentive to others to join in this movement into the wilderness, and resulted in increased demands upon organized Presbyterianism to furnish ministerial supplies for the growing Presbyterian population in the valleys of the Allegheny Mountains.

PRESBYTERIANS IN THE SHERMAN AND JUNIATA VALLEYS

Although the British Government in the Proclamation of 1763 sought to place restrictions on the westward movement to remove any further danger of Indian uprisings, the frontiersman soon made his way beyond the crest of the Allegheny Mountains when he wanted more land. The Presbyterian advance entered the Sherman Valley and reached such propor-

[14] Quoted by Parkman, *op. cit.*, II, 47.

tions in April 1766 that in response to the representation of some people in the congregation of Slate Bridge for advice, the Presbytery of Donegal directed a committee to go to Slate Bridge to judge the affair. The records of the committee throw some light on the nature of the expansion movement in this region.

At the meeting of the committee in July 1766 in Sherman Valley about twenty-two miles from the mouth of Sherman Creek, commissioners from the upper, middle, and lower parts of the valley gathered to determine the course to follow for the support of the Gospel in that region. The report of the commissioners revealed that the number of subscribers in the region extending from the stated place of meeting near the mouth of Laurel Run to the head of Sherman Creek—a distance of approximately fourteen miles—would be fifty-four; in the middle section the number of subscribers would total forty-seven; and in the vicinity of Finley McCown's place, located nine miles from the mouth of Sherman Creek, there would be twenty-five subscribers. After hearing the various statements of the commissioners, the committee suggested the erection of three meetinghouses to meet their needs. Temporarily a delay resulted because the commissioners from the lower part of the valley did not feel at liberty to consent to such a proposition without consulting the subscribers of their district.[15] But the expansion in the upper part of the valley by the addition of fifteen families "on the north side of the R. Juniata" and the need for religious services soon led to the formation of three groups, referred to as Toboyne in the upper part of the valley, as the Center for the middle group, and as Dick's Gap in the lower valley.[16]

The rapid expansion of Presbyterian interests, that characterized this section as well as others, added to the problems of

[15] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, II, 186–188. Subscribers, it must be remembered, were usually heads of families.

[16] *Ibid.*, II, 201–208; *ibid.*, III, 66, 69.

the Presbytery of Donegal. In 1766 this Presbytery under "the great Necessity of the Vacancies within our Bounds" to the west of the Susquehanna River was forced to appeal to the Presbytery of New Castle to send its newly licensed young men to supply these vacancies. In response to this request two probationers, sent by the Presbytery of New Castle, fulfilled appointments in the numerous vacancies.[17] The Synod of New York and Philadelphia also recognized the need for supplying the frontiersmen with ministers of the Gospel, and in the spring of 1766 appointed Charles Beatty and George Duffield "to go together, the first of August next, and preach at least two months in those parts, and do what else is best for the advancement of religion" on the frontiers of the province. The western terminus of their missionary journey was to be the Muskingum River, in the present state of Ohio, where they were to preach to the Indians.[18] But their journey to and from that region was filled with active missionary work among the white people scattered throughout the western part of the province.

Starting from Carlisle, Duffield and Beatty crossed the North, or Blue Mountains, into Sherman Valley where they found quite a number of settlers who had entered these regions prior to Pontiac's War.[19] After preaching to a small gathering in this valley, they crossed the Tuscarora Mountains into the valley of Tuscarora Creek, where they ministered to the needs of the settlers. Following a brief stay in this region Duffield and Beatty separated: the former went on a missionary journey into Path Valley and to the vicinity of the Little and Big Cove creeks; the latter pushed to the northward into the valley of the Juniata, and preached to "a large congregation" which gathered near the mouth of the Tuscarora.

[17] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, II, 182, 190.

[18] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, pp. 362, 376.

[19] Egle, *History of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, p. 810; Robert McMeen, "The Scotch-Irish of the Juniata Valley," *Eighth Congress of the Scotch-Irish in America*, p. 121.

Pushing westward along the Juniata, Beatty passed through "the Narrows" in the vicinity of what is now Lewistown until he came to a small settlement. Notice of a preaching service having been sent out, "by twelve o'clock a considerable number of people were collected at a place in the woods where a mill was building, near to which a house for worship is intended to be built, as being most essential to the inhabitants in those parts." [20] In this vicinity he preached

> . . . the first sermon ever preached in these parts. Here I baptized several children; and after sermon rode about four miles and a half with one of the audience, and lodged at his house.
>
> This settlement on both sides of the river *Juniata,* consisting at present of about eighty families, extends from the place called the Narrows, mentioned before, to where the river Aughweek [Aughwick] empties itself into the *Juniata.*—The settlement is about twenty-five miles in length; and in the center, seven miles broad.[21]

Across Jacks Mountain another settlement of six or seven families had begun in the Kishacoquillas Valley, or "Great Valley," as it was called, about four miles from the center of the Juniata settlement.

> Both these places propose joining, in order to make one congregation.—They are desirous of having a minister settled among them as soon as may be, and appear to be willing to do as much towards his support, as their present low circumstances will admit.[22]

From the Juniata settlement Beatty traveled southward along the Aughwick Creek, a branch of the Juniata River, to Fort Shirley—a distance of almost fourteen miles in which he saw only two or three houses. He pushed on to Fort Littleton where Duffield and Beatty again joined forces for their westward missionary journey. While Beatty had been ministering to the needs of Presbyterians along the Juniata, Duf-

[20] Charles Beatty, *Journal,* p. 18.
[21] *Ibid.,* pp. 18, 19.
[22] *Ibid.,* p. 19.

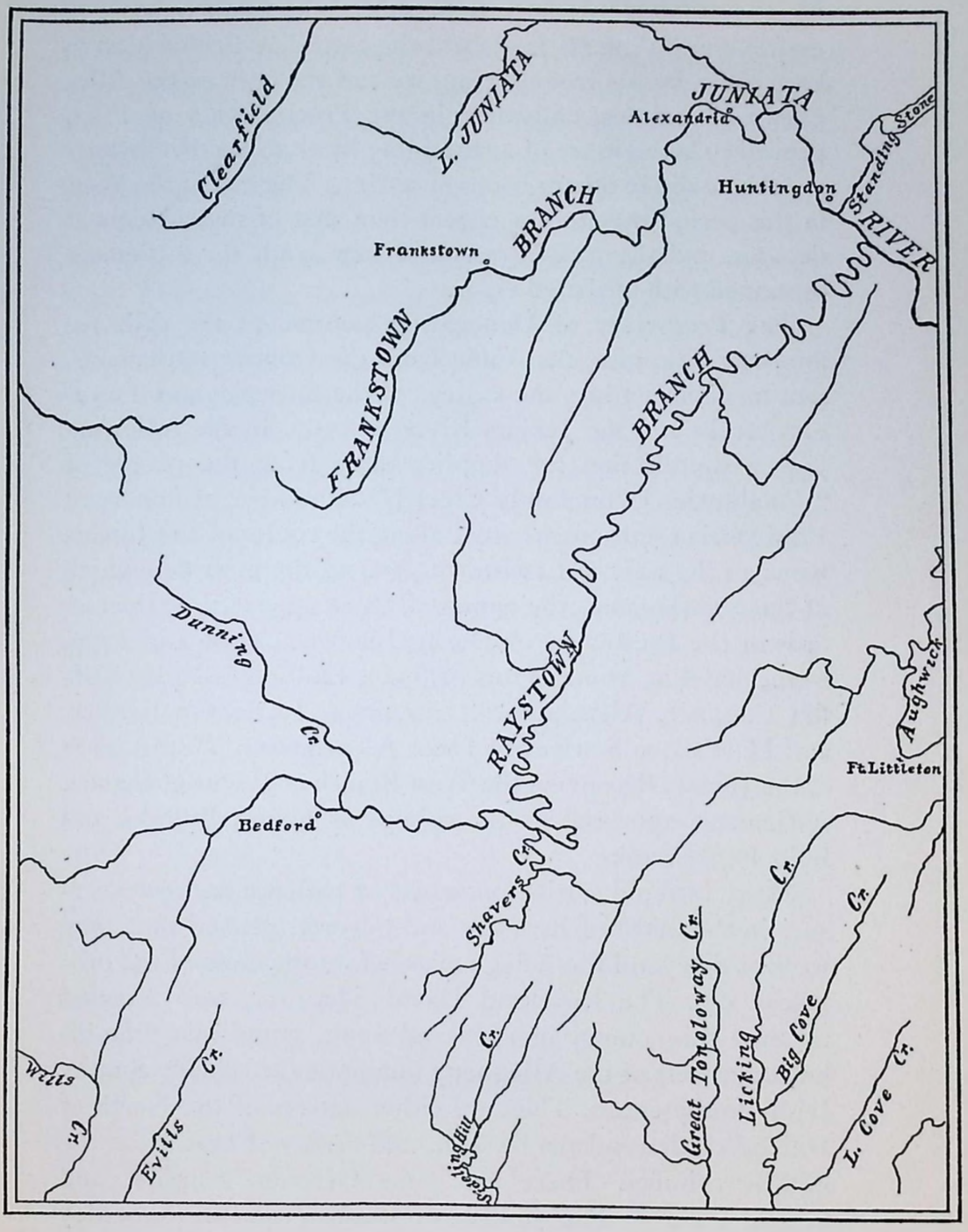
field had been laboring among the people in Path Valley and along Little and Big Cove creeks to the south. He found congregations in the process of formation in Fanet township, containing Path Valley, where there were approximately seventy families, and also in the Big Cove region where there were about fifteen families desirous and willing to support the Gospel. After having joined forces at Fort Littleton, Beatty and Duffield continued their journey westward by way of Bedford, Fort Ligonier, Bushy Run, and Turtle Creek to Fort Pitt where they arrived on September 5, 1766. While they were at Fort Pitt, Beatty preached to the garrison and Duffield ministered "to the people, who live in some kind of a town without the fort." [23] From Fort Pitt they pushed westward into the Ohio country where they preached to the Indians along the Muskingum River. They again reached Fort Pitt on their homeward journey in the latter part of September, and on October 10th they arrived at Carlisle. The condition of Presbyterian interests on the frontier as revealed by the journey of Beatty and Duffield is summarized in the records of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia as follows:

> Messrs. Beatty and Duffield's mission among the Indians and frontiers, came under consideration. And they report that they performed their mission to the frontiers and among the Indians. That they found on the frontiers numbers of people earnestly desirous of forming themselves into congregations, and declaring their willingness to exert their utmost in order to have the gospel among them, but in circumstances exceedingly distressing and necessitous from the late calamities of the war in these parts. . . .[24]

EXPANSION IN THE LAST DECADE OF THE COLONIAL ERA

The westward expansion during the next ten years led to the development of many Presbyterian settlements in the western part of the province along a course similar to the

[23] Charles Beatty, *Journal*, pp. 23–29.
[24] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, pp. 375–376.



JUNIATA RIVER AREA (Raystown Branch)

earlier establishments farther to the east. The British plan to keep the colonists from settling west of the crest of the Allegheny Mountains, embodied in the Proclamation of 1763, proved to be no more of a stumbling block to the Presbyterians than it did to other groups of settlers. The call of the West in this period was no less cogent than that of the subsequent decades, and the trek in search of new lands for settlement continued with unabated vigor.

The Presbytery of Donegal, responsive to the calls for ministerial supplies that came from the frontier settlements, sent missionaries into the valleys of the Sherman and Tuscarora creeks and the Juniata River in 1767. In the following year a supplication for supplies came from the people of "Conallawies [Tonoloway Creek]." A number of important Presbyterian settlements arose along the course of the Juniata River to the west of Lewistown. Among the most flourishing of these settlements, the names of which appeared on the records of the Presbytery of Donegal between 1766 and 1776, were: Standing Stone (Huntingdon), Holliday's Mill (Mifflin County), Alexandria, Frankstown, Little Gunpowder, and Hart's Log Settlement (near Alexandria). To the north of the Juniata River near the West Branch of the Susquehanna, settlements appeared in the valleys of Penns, Buffalo, and Bald Eagle creeks.

Many intrepid spirits, possessed of patience and perseverance in the midst of hardship and poverty, pushed their way westward beyond the Alleghenies before the close of the provincial era. The Reverend David McClure, who traveled through this country in 1772 and 1773, stated that "the inhabitants west of the Allegheny mountains are chiefly Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. They are either natives of the North of Ireland or descendants of such, and removed here from the middle colonies. There are some German, English, and Scotch. . . ." [25] The number of Presbyterians in the valley

[25] From David McClure's Diary in Hanna, *The Scotch-Irish*, II, 83.

of Redstone Creek, an eastern branch of the Monongahela River, had grown to such an extent that Robert Cooper fulfilled appointments to the Redstone settlement beyond "the Alegany Mountains" in 1770. Between this outpost of Presbyterianism and Bedford on the east, other settlements appealed to the Presbytery of Donegal for ministerial supplies, and were cared for as speedily as possible during the ensuing years. The settlements that appear on the records between the years 1771 and 1775 were located at "Ligoneer & places adjacent," along Jacobs Creek, on both sides of Sewickley Creek, on the north side of which the people were referred to as those of Hempfield and on the south side of which the settlers were called "the people of Huntingdon Township upon the waters of Sewickly," along Georges Creek, at Mount Pleasant between the sources of Sewickley and Jacobs creeks, at "Shirtee [Chartier] in Westmoreland," in Union township at the source of Redstone Creek, along Dunlap Creek, at Laurel Hill, in the vicinity of "Proctor's Tent," in Tyrone township, Fayette County, at the mouth of the Cheat on the southwestern border of the present county of Fayette, and at the "Forks of Yough [Youghiogheny]." [26]

Years before any presbytery officially took cognizance of Presbyterians in and about Pittsburgh, a number had established themselves in that area. In the expedition of 1758 against the French was the Reverend Charles Beatty, serving in the capacity of chaplain. A letter, dated November 26, 1758, from Pittsburgh, reported that "Mr. Beatie is appointed to preach a Thanksgiving Sermon for the remarkable Superiority of His Majesty's Arms." [27] On the first day of the twelfth month, 1761, James Kenny stated that

> . . . y^e^ Soberer sort of People [of Pittsburgh] seemes to Long for some publick way of Worship, so y^e^ School Master Reads y^e^ Littany &

[26] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, III, 12, 54, 88, 114, 126, 127, 130, 143, 216.

[27] *Pennsylvania Gazette,* December 14, 1758.

Common Prayer on y^e^ first Days to a Congregation of different Principels (he being a Prisbiterant) where they behave very Grave (as I hear), on y^e^ occasion y^e^ Children also are brought to Church as they Call it.[28]

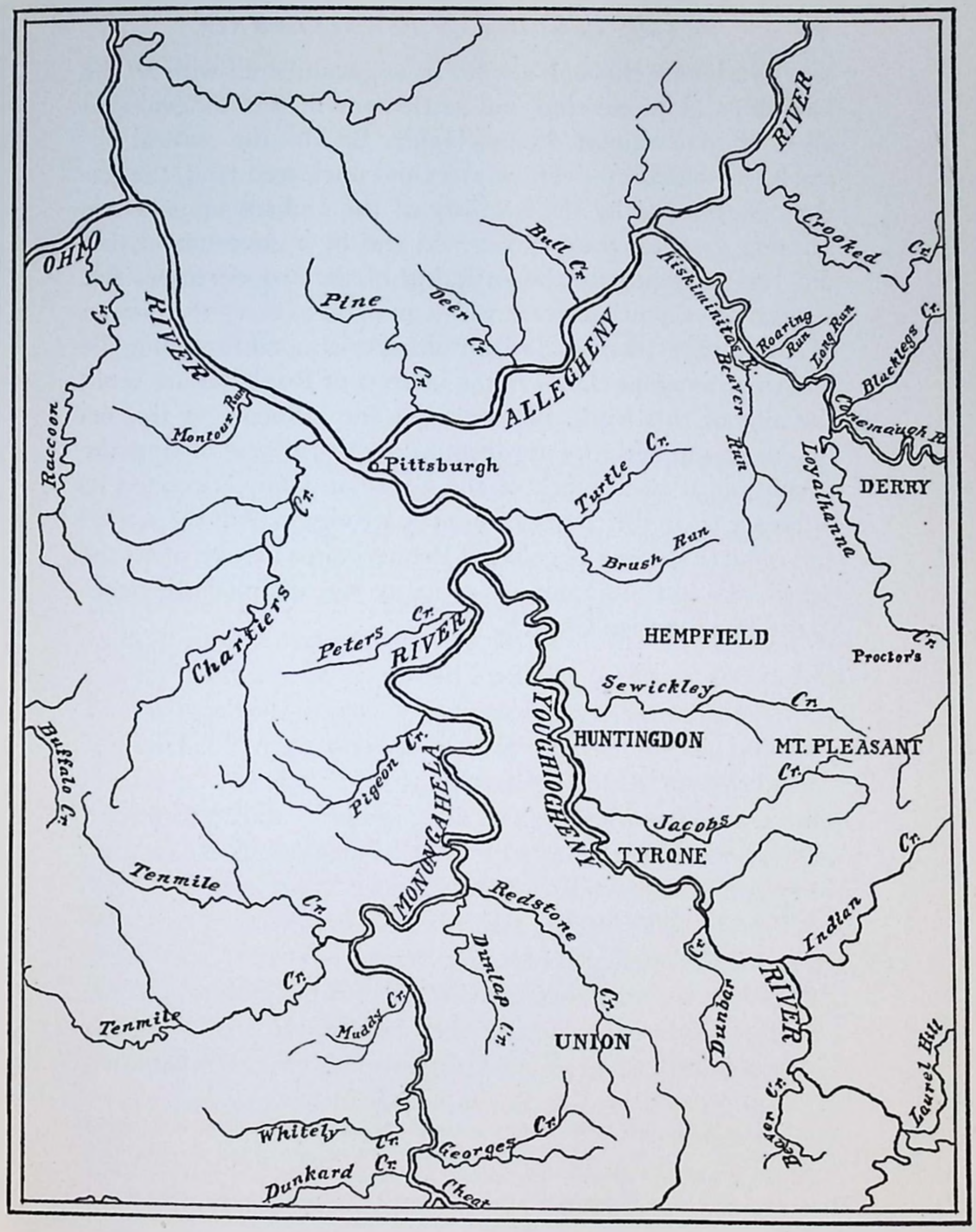
Recognizing the need of ministering to the spiritual life of the frontiersmen, the Synod of New York and Philadelphia sent Charles Beatty and George Duffield to the frontier settlements in 1766. But it was not until April 1773 that a petition for ministerial supplies from "Pitt's Burgh" was made to the Presbytery of Donegal. Thomas McPherrin, directed to supply at "Fort Pitt" in November 1773, fulfilled the appointment. Settlements along the Conemaugh River, "long Run," "Blacklick," and Beaver Run, and at Squirrel Hill petitioned for ministerial supplies in 1774 and 1775. West of the Monongahela River, Presbyterian settlements arose before the close of the colonial period along Dunkard Creek, "Short Creek and Menter's Run [Montour Run]," Pigeon Creek, Chartiers Creek, and "Racoon Creek Buffaloe on the Ohio." [29]

Thus the course of westward expansion in the Province of Pennsylvania was furthered by a strong and aggressive Presbyterian element. As pioneers they had blazed the trail through the wilderness and had made settlements in a region extending from the Delaware River on the east to the Ohio River on the west within a period of approximately sixty years. They had pushed northward along the Delaware to the vicinity of Delaware Water Gap, and along the Susquehanna River (West Branch) to Muncy Creek in Lycoming County and to Bald Eagle to the westward, the most northerly section of Pennsylvania reached in colonial days by Presbyterians to whom ministerial supplies were furnished.

The magnitude of this movement within the period of sixty years becomes more striking when it is recognized that this

[28] "Journal of James Kenny, 1761–1763," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXVII, 29.

[29] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, III, 88, 148, 211, 214, 221, 239.



SOUTHWESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

was an advance through a wilderness encumbered with all the hardships of pioneering and settlement in the undeveloped areas of mountainous Pennsylvania. Besides the natural obstacles provided in severe winters and uncleared land, the settlers were faced by the hostility of the Indians upon whose hunting grounds they encroached and by a government that did little to mitigate the suffering of the frontiersmen. But rugged Presbyterians were well equipped to carry the burden of such a movement as a result of experience and training. To make extravagant claims in the interest of Presbyterians is not the aim of this work. Nevertheless the influence of this religious group becomes apparent as in the fullness of time the expansion of one branch of the Christian Church exerted its influence upon the course of human activity in both the settled and pioneer sections of colonial Pennsylvania in spite of all the drawbacks and shortcomings of many who claimed allegiance to the Presbyterian Church.

VI

THE FORMATION OF LOCAL RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES

INTRODUCTION

Since the growth of organized Presbyterianism was inherently dependent upon the increase of local religious communities, it is fitting to observe the ways in which the local groups came into existence, grew in size, and subsequently influenced the development of Presbyterian organizations. It is a story, often told, of simple beginnings in adverse conditions that tried the sterner qualities of those who settled in the colony. It is the account of courageous undertakings under sorely limited financial circumstances and even destitution in some instances. And it is a revelation of significant accomplishments through combined efforts of individuals seeking for the spiritual guidance which they regarded as an integral part of their very being. Although there were communities wherein the sense of this need for spiritual guidance was at low ebb in many lives, there were other communities in which individuals did sense the urgent demand for the cultivation of man's search for the deep spiritual experiences even though they did not apprehend the significance of the spiritual life in the fullest degree.[1]

[1] In a call signed by 128 communicants and presented to the Reverend John Elder, the following statement appears: "Sir—We, the inhabitants in the Township & Congregation of Paxtang & Derry, Being now Destitute of a settled Gospel minister amongst us; Being also Deeply Sensible of the great loss & Disadvantage we & ours may sustain, In regard of our souls & spiritual Concerns by our living in such a Condition in this Wilderness. . . ." *History of Paxtang Presbyterian Church*, p. 65.

In a letter of Rev. Robert Smith to Mr. Bellamy in June 1764, is revealed

Whenever the number of adherents to the same confession of faith within a community warranted the establishment of a congregation, preparations, divergent in character as a result of the times and circumstances in which the movements were begun, were made to secure some form of religious organization. After settlements had been made, those who had been reared in a religious environment and felt the need of the Gospel ministry joined through common interests in small groups for the purpose of encouraging spiritual fellowship. Hence within a few years of settlement these small groups took steps to obtain ministerial supplies and to organize into religious societies. The course pursued in the formation of one of the Presbyterian societies of colonial Pennsylvania has been recounted in the instance of the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia. Because of the paucity of numbers among the Presbyterians of Philadelphia and the absence of pastoral guidance of their own confession, these Presbyterians worshiped with the Baptists from 1695 until the arrival in 1698 of Jedidiah Andrews, who was responsible for the formation of the first independent Presbyterian society in Philadelphia.[2] In this instance as in many subsequent establishments the growth was dependent upon the Scotch-Irish adherents of Presbyterianism who came from abroad.[3] The reliance, however, of Presbyterians upon other denominations for religious facilities was the exception rather than the rule after the coming of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians who followed the course of developing their own religious communities.

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the demand for ministering to the spiritual life of individuals as follows: "Our necessity is indeed great, for our vacancies are numerous, faithful laborers few & our good ministers of some standing almost worn out in traveling & preaching to those who cry for the Bread of Life, but have none to break it among them, as well as in contending for purity of doctrine & practice in the house of Christ. . . ." Bellamy Papers, I, 213. See also footnote 12, p. 100.

[2] See above, pp. 44–47.

[3] Letter of Jedidiah Andrews, Philadelphia, October 14, 1730, in Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania,* XV, 200.

THE FORMATION OF LOCAL SOCIETIES

On the frontier the settlers had to contend with as well as make use of the natural surroundings into which they were thrown. The abundance of fertile land along waterways made possible settlements within a radius in which there were a sufficient number of settlers to establish religious societies. The traditional religious experience, especially of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, had been so deeply imbedded that gatherings for religious worship followed closely upon settlement. In the incipient stage of community development, when the facilities for worship were meager, those desirous of religious worship gathered, if the weather permitted, in the open spaces under the sheltering branches of some majestic tree, or the ministers preached, as Charles Beatty and George Duffield did in their missionary travels in 1766, "in the woods, as we have done mostly hitherto." At other times the services were held in houses or buildings that were available for religious assemblies.[4]

Charles Beatty has admirably portrayed in his journal the readiness with which the Presbyterian settlers responded to the need for a place of worship. After having crossed the Tuscarora Mountains, he and George Duffield arrived at a place in the Tuscarora Valley "where the people had begun to build a house for worship, before the late war, but by accident [the building] had been burned." The settlers informed him

> . . . that this valley of Tuskerora is about thirty-two miles in length; between six and seven miles broad in the middle, and about ten miles wide at the lower end next to the Juniata river.
>
> There are about eighty-four families living in this valley, who propose to build two houses for worship; one about fourteen miles from the upper end of the valley, and the other ten miles below it, towards the Juniata river. As their circumstances, at present, are such, that they

[4] Charles Beatty, *Journal,* p. 14; "Journal of Rev. John McMillan," *Jour. of Department of History of the Presbyterian Church . . .* , XV, 227 ff.

cannot support the gospel, they purpose to join with the people settled upon the other side of Juniata; but hope in a few years to be able to support a minister in the valley. We must say, upon the whole, that they appear very desirous to have the gospel settled among them, and are willing to exert themselves to the utmost for that purpose; and as soon as it shall be in their power, they design to purchase a plantation for a parsonage. . . .[5]

Added to this testimony of early developments of Presbyterian communities west of the Susquehanna River are the numerous citations, in the records of the presbyteries, of entreaties for ministerial supplies from many communities in the early stages of their development so that the Gospel would be brought to them. So it was that one congregation after another arose in the midst of new settlements. And as the numbers in sparsely settled congregations increased, new religious societies developed out of the older ones.

THE MATERIAL RESOURCES OF LOCAL SOCIETIES

Where religious assemblies existed, there the need for places of worship arose. The meetinghouses that dotted the countryside became a monumental evidence of their belief that corporate expression was needful to spiritual welfare. Not infrequently missionaries who had been sent to the recently formed frontier settlements found meetinghouses in the course of construction, or completed. And presbyteries at times found it necessary to remonstrate against the practice of building a meetinghouse before presbyterial sanction had been obtained. Objection by presbyteries to the building of meetinghouses was voiced solely when the danger of encroachment upon another congregation existed.[6]

In the selection of a site for the meetinghouse it was customary to choose a plot of ground convenient to a spring, stream,

[5] Charles Beatty, *Journal*, pp. 12–13.

[6] Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, I, 124; Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 151.

or river, so that water was available for those who gathered there from the surrounding countryside. Sometimes people traveled ten or more miles to the places of meeting. Not infrequently the burial ground preceded the construction of the meetinghouse, and determined the location of the latter. The meetinghouse and the burial ground in the frontier communities of Presbyterians were usually the forerunners of the civil authority, the evidences of which were the courthouse and prison.

The ground for the church buildings and graveyards came into the possession of the congregations by various methods. On the frontier a congregation was frequently guilty of squatting on land, just as its individual members sometimes obtained their land. Later, however, the congregation became the lawful owner by purchase or gift from some individual. Individuals—it is obscure, whether out of a sense of duty or as penitents seeking to atone for past sins—donated the land, or willed it, to the congregations. In purchasing the land in order to have legal title to it, the congregation chose men to buy the land with the contributions that had been made for that purpose. The amount of land obtained for the meetinghouse and burial ground varied according to the will of the donor, or depended upon the financial circumstances of the congregations.[7]

Some of the grants of land made to congregations had certain stipulations attached to the gift. In the case of land conveyed by deed to the trustees of the Falling Spring congregation on January 1, 1768, the following condition was entered:

. . . in trust for the Presbyterian congregation of the Falling Spring, now professing and adhering to, and that shall here-after adhere to

[7] In the case of the New Side congregation of Upper Octoraro the amount of land obtained was twenty-five acres. Futhey, *History of the Upper Octorara Presbyterian Church*, p. 56. The Donegal Presbyterian Church held two hundred acres by the purchase of 1740. Deed of Donegal Presbyterian Church, 1740.

and profess, the Westminster profession of faith and the mode of church government therein contained, and to and for the use of a meeting-house or Presbyterian church, session house, schoolhouse, graveyard, and such religious purposes.[8]

Strict adherence to Presbyterian precepts appeared as one of the stipulations for carrying on the work of the Second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia.[9]

Following the acquisition of land by one of the aforesaid means, the congregation proceeded to the building of the meetinghouse. The size and resources of the congregation usually determined the type and size of the building that was constructed. In the less developed sections of the frontier and in the early years of many a congregation's existence, the simple log meetinghouse was the rule, because the resources of the members permitted only the simplest structure. Sometimes these log meetinghouses were covered with clapboards, and roughly furnished within with high-backed pews, the entrances to which contained doors; and semi-circular pulpits, suspended high at the front of the church, were reached by winding stairways.[10]

In the more highly developed communities where circumstances permitted, a large frame building, or even a stone building, took the place of the old log meetinghouse. Where a more pretentious building was to be erected, committees of trustees, or managers, attended to the securing of workmen for putting up the building. After the structure had been completed to the extent that seats could be assigned, a committee was selected "to settle the seats & place us decently."[11] Indirectly property qualifications entered into the matter of seating because the choice seats went to those who paid the

[8] Alfred Nevin, *Men of Mark of Cumberland Valley, Pennsylvania,* pp. 29–30.

[9] "Extracts from the Consistory Book of the Second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia," January 7, 1752.

[10] C. Beatty, *op. cit.,* 12, 22; R. H. Taylor, *Historical Sketch of Derry Presbyterian Church,* p. 5.

[11] Minutes of Tinicum Presbyterian Church, p. 11.

highest rental for the pews. The principle of diminishing returns determined the position of the other contributors. When a congregation could not agree on the seating arrangement, the presbytery had to be called to make the assignments.

MEMBERSHIP WITHIN A CONGREGATION

Membership in a Presbyterian society was based on the traditional practices that had developed out of Scriptural foundations. In the early stages of Presbyterian establishments in such centers as Philadelphia and in the frontier societies the formalities involved in the admission of individuals to membership were not rigidly adhered to by all groups, but denominational lines established in the days of their habitation in Europe persisted. Confronted with the necessity of religious unanimity, a group of individuals bound themselves into a religious organization by adopting a confession of faith based on biblical injunctions.[12] From time to time a presbytery would find it necessary to admonish a session to enforce more rigidly the requirements for membership where a certain laxity had appeared. Families, located in a community where a religious society to which they gave no support existed, desired to enjoy the privileges of the sealing ordinances (such as baptism and the Lord's Supper) without uniting with the congregation. Donegal Presbytery had been functioning about a month when an order was sent out to its members embodying the following admonition:

> Such families by neglecting to congregate themselves with y^{e} societies of Gods people are guilty of too great contempt of y^{e} Priviledges of X^{ts} [Christ's] house, & likewise deprive y^{m}selves [themselves] of all the ordinances w^{ch} [which] are consequential upon an interest in y^{e} Pas-

[12] "In the Township of Abington, year 1714, we whose names are underwritten have engaged ourselves to be ye Lord's, and do hereby engage ourselves to ye Lord and to one another to unite in a Church-State according to rule of God gave in his word to direct his church in all the duty required toward God, ourselves, and toward all men. The Lord please to aid and direct us." H. Baggs, *History of Abington Presbyterian Church,* p. 1.

toral relation to a particular mnr [minister]; doe order y^{t} [that] no mb^{r}. [member] of this Pby [Presbytery] doe admit any of foresd [foresaid] people to sealing ordinances until they first join y^{m}selves with some of y^{e} cong^{ns} [congregations] next to y^{m} [them].[13]

A duty incumbent upon all who desired to be members in full standing was to aid in the support of the Gospel ministry both by attendance and by financial support. In some instances regular attendance at public worship of God for a year and regular support to the ministry and other expenses involved, according "to the usage of Presbyterians," were required.[14] Failure to comply to the provisions set down, or neglect in the payment of pew rents, would jeopardize one's position as a member in good standing and result in exclusion from the privileges of the Church. The Presbytery of Donegal ordered that only those who "are regular members of their respective congregations & contribute their Share of public expences in S^{d} Congre^{ns}" were entitled to certificates of membership. An individual who did not possess such a certificate of membership was deprived of the privileges of sealing ordinances.[15] On the other hand a member in good standing was entitled to a certificate of membership and could transfer his membership to another church by means of a letter of dismissal granted by the session of the church.

As the Presbyterian Church became more highly organized and conformity to Presbyterian doctrines grew in importance, steps were taken to make the requirement for membership more uniform and more in conformity with Presbyterian practice and doctrine that had found expression abroad. Such a step was taken in the Presbytery of New Castle before the close of the first quarter of the eighteenth century in the form of a declared acceptance of the Westminster Confession of Faith,

[13] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 4.

[14] "Extracts from the Consistory Book of the Second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia," p. 4.

[15] Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, III, 141; Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 4.

and reached its more comprehensive form in the Synod of Philadelphia in the Adopting Act of 1729 which sought to obtain conformity to the Westminster Confession of Faith, the Longer and Shorter Catechisms, and the Directory, among its members. From the higher judicatories this trend was carried down to the congregations. Within some congregations adherence "to all the essential Articles of the Westminster confession of Faith & Directory" was stipulated as an essential feature.[16]

The number of members in the colonial congregations varied according to the conditions within the settlements in which the societies were located. Since membership lists have not been preserved, it is difficult to get an accurate estimate of the size of the membership in the colonial congregations. The practice of securing subscribers within a congregation for the support of the minister provides some basis of estimating the approximate membership of those congregations where such records have been preserved. Subscribers were usually the heads of families who agreed to pay a certain sum yearly for the support of the minister. When religious societies were small and impecunious, the subscriptions were often times so meager that only a portion of a minister's time could be obtained. On the other hand certain congregations consisted of several hundred who oversubscribed the required sum for a minister's entire time. Upon the formation of the Abington society in 1714 there were seventy individuals, men and women, who signed the confession of faith and agreement. When the congregation of New London sent a call to Francis Alison in 1737, twenty individuals took upon themselves the responsibility of subscribing five pounds yearly each for his support. If the families, of whom the subscribers were the

[16] "Extracts from the Consistory Book of the Second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia," p. 4. Since this was a New Side society a qualification was added in the following terms: "agreeable to the present Interpretation of the Synod of New York." J. C. Clyde, "History of Allen Township Presbyterian Church," *The Northampton County Historical . . . Society*, I, 292.

heads, contained on an average of four or five members, many of the colonial congregations must have had a membership of at least a hundred. The congregation at Big Spring consisted "of about three hundred families" in 1773.[17]

THE ORGANIZATION OF A CONGREGATION

When a group of people had reached the stage where they considered the time opportune for being erected into a congregation, commissioners were chosen to present their cause before presbytery. These commissioners appeared before the stated meeting of presbytery with their request, which was usually granted if the welfare of a neighboring congregation was not endangered. The commissioners then supplicated for ministerial supplies and one to moderate in the organization of the congregation. Sometimes frontier conditions stood in the way of such an orderly procedure for conducting religious services, especially when the settlements were remote. Under such drawbacks the people assembled for worship, and from their number found one to teach or preach to them.[18] When possible, presbyteries discouraged this practice of laymen expounding the Word of God, by providing regularly licensed candidates for the ministry, or by sending ministers out as missionaries.

When the course of organization followed the accepted procedure, the presbytery chose a moderator to attend to the establishment of the congregation. The moderator then sent out a notice of a meeting of the people for the election of the officers. Upon the assembling of the congregation the moderator, after having conducted a period of devotional exercises, in a discourse charged the congregation with the importance of the choice of elders and deacons by election. After the nomination, election, and examination of those chosen, their ordina-

[17] H. Baggs, *History of Abington Presbyterian Church,* p. 1; Minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, 1733–1746, p. 41; Hanna, *op. cit.,* "The Diary of Rev. David McClure," II, 86.

[18] *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* pp. 17–18.

tion and installation followed.[19] Trustees were usually elected to office when the congregation was incorporated.

The duties of those elected to office within the congregation varied according to the office held. First in importance were the elders who, with the minister acting as moderator, comprised the session. Sessional responsibilities, involving all those matters that promoted the spiritual and moral welfare of the congregation, consisted of such duties as aiding the minister in catechizing, baptizing, visiting the families, inspecting the congregation, administering in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, providing for services, and safeguarding the conduct of its members. Deacons were chosen to attend to the needs of the sick and poor. The trustees, responsible for the church property, attended to the financial matters concerned with the upkeep of the church building, the graveyard, and other lands in its possession, and with the payment of those expenses incurred in the maintenance of the congregation's corporate existence. In the less highly organized societies where deacons and trustees were not needed, the session fulfilled many of the duties ordinarily designated to those two groups of officers.[20]

SUPPLYING CONGREGATIONS WITH MINISTERS

Until a minister who was needed for the conducting of religious services could be obtained, the religious activities of a people were definitely restricted, in that they had no minister to unfold to them the Gospel, or to catechize, or administer the sacraments. The lack of a sufficient number of ministers

[19] Minutes of the Presbytery of Carlisle in the Record Book of the Presbytery of Donegal, II, 173; Minutes of the Session of the Tinicum Presbyterian Church, p. 9.

[20] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 43, 180; Minutes of the Session of New Londonderry, pp. 1, 13 ff.; Financial Record of the New Londonderry Congregation, pp. 1–9; Minutes of Tinicum Presbyterian Church, p. 11; Deed of Donegal Presbyterian Church; *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 44; *Westminster Confession of Faith* . . . (Charles Beatty's copy), p. 487.

and the remoteness of the frontier societies deprived many Presbyterian settlements of adequate ministerial supplies. Sometimes years passed before a settlement obtained the services of a minister. Under such a demand for ministers the field of missionary work was vast, and had to be carried on in regions where a certain amount of proselyting had been done by other denominations.[21] In 1707 one of the provisions of an overture before the Presbytery of Philadelphia called upon every minister of Presbytery to "supply neighbouring desolate places where a minister is wanting." [22] Both ministers and newly licensed candidates for the ministry within the various presbyteries were assigned to serve the vacant societies.

For the support of such work, offerings were taken in those gatherings which were served by the missionary, or by contributions from the fund for pious uses begun and carried on by the Synod of Philadelphia. Presbyteries, fully aware of the difficulties under which frontier and destitute communities labored, sought to be as lenient as possible upon such communities without depriving them of the Gospel message, but urged each society to fulfil its obligation by providing compensation for those who preached to them. In 1721 the Presbytery of New Castle recommended to its members the need to "signifie to ye vaccant congregations within their bounds that they take Effectual methods to gratifie those that are appointed to supply them from time to time." [23]

The manner in which a congregation called a minister followed very much along a uniform line. A society in its incipient state was dependent for its ministerial supplies upon

[21] Hanna *op. cit.*, "The Diary of Rev. David McClure," II, 83. The Reverend Robert Smith of Pequea, in commenting upon the great field of opportunity, stated: "Our necessity is indeed great, for our vacancies are numerous, faithful laborers few & our good ministers of some standing almost worn out in traveling & preaching to those who cry for the Bread of Life. . . ." Bellamy Papers, I, 213.

[22] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 8.

[23] Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, I, 42, 54–55; Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 141.

the presbyteries. The records of the stated meetings of the presbyteries abound with assignments to ministers and to candidates for the ministry for supplying newly erected congregations and vacant pulpits so that neighboring vacancies would be supplied weekly and the more distant vacancies about once a month, while the frontier settlements in some instances did not receive supplies more frequently than once or twice a year, and in other cases waited several years before the first missionary arrived. The frequency of supply depended upon the extent to which ministers and candidates were available. Frontier presbyteries, such as Donegal, were forced to call upon the other presbyteries for aid in supplying the many vacancies. During the course of a year congregations with vacant pulpits were supplied by a number of different ministers from whom they had the opportunity of making their selection when the occasion arrived for such action. Not infrequently congregations, in making their requests for supplies, indicated the minister whom they preferred as a supply. After having heard the various ministers, congregations sent their chosen commissioners to present to the presbytery their call for the man of their choice.[24]

The compliance of presbyteries to the request of the congregations that presented such calls for ministers rested upon the following factors: that the calls actually had the support of the societies, and that the subscriptions made by the members provided adequate means for the support of the ministers. In the first instance presbyteries wanted to be assured of the combined support of the society in the presentation of the call to guard against disruption within the congregation; and in the other case they sought to assure the minister of a regular source of income during a period when so many congregations readily fell in arrears in the payment of the ministers' sal-

[24] Sometimes commissioners appeared before a presbytery to request that a minister be sent "to moderate in drawing up a call." Minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, III, 23–24.

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aries.[25] Newly established societies, cognizant of the fact that some provision had to be made for supporting a minister, usually presented with the call a statement of the amount of the subscriptions that had been made by the members of the congregation for the support of the minister. This amount varied during the colonial period, and depended upon the prosperity of the community, the size of the congregation, and the willingness to support the minister. In turn the presbyteries determined whether or not the sum subscribed was sufficient for the minister's support.[26]

Upon the acceptance of the call by a licentiate, or a minister, a presbytery took the necessary steps for the ordination and installation of the one who had been called. If the place of installation was not too far removed from the regular circuit of the presbytery, the installation services were held, by the presbytery, at the meetinghouse of the people from whom

[25] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 128, 133; Minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, 1758–1781, pp. 22, 24, 115; Records of the Session of Tinicum Presbyterian Church, pp. 7–8. The following is a call presented by 128 communicants of Derry and Paxtang on September 26, 1754: "To the Reverend Mr. John Elder: Sir—We, the inhabitants in the Township & Congregation of Paxtang & Derry, Being now Destitute of a settled Gospel minister amongst us; Being also Deeply Sensible of the great loss & Disadvantage we & ours may sustain, In regard of our souls & spiritual Concerns by our living in such a Condition in this Wilderness; & having had Sufficient Proof of, & being well pleased & satisfied with the ministerial abilities & qualifications of y'u, the Rev. Jno. Elder, Do unanimously Invite and Call y'u to take the Pastoral Care & oversight of us, Promising all due subjection, submission & obedience to the Doctrine, Discipline & Government & Ordinances Exercised & administered By y'u as our Pastor in the Lord. And that y'u may be the Better Enabled to attend upon y'r Pastoral & ministerial work amongst us, without Anxious and Distracting Cares about y'r worldly Concerns, We Do hereby Cheerfully Promise & Engage to take Care of y'r Support and maintenance for an Honourable & Creditable manner Suitable to & befitting y'r Honourable Function & office as a Minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ amongst us; Knowing that the Lord hath ordained that they who Preach the Gospel should live by the Gospel." Quoted in the *History of Paxtang Presbyterian Church,* pp. 65–66.

[26] Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, I, 35. In August 1721, the people of Tredyffryn presented a call to the Reverend David Evans "together with their subscription, which were not judged sufficient for Mr. Evans his subsistence in the ministry among them, wherefore the presbytery could not urge him to accept of the Call but referred y^e^ matter to his further Consideration, and in the mean time appoint him to supply sd people allowing every fourth Sabbath day to the people of Sadbury above mentioned."

the call had come. Difficulty of travel, inclement weather, and remoteness of a congregation sometimes made it impossible for a presbytery to assemble at the place of installation. In such an event a committee of ministers and elders, or some one minister chosen by the presbytery, was sent to perform the service of installation.[27]

When the presbytery met for the ordination and installation, it was customary to make a proclamation three times from the door of the meetinghouse of the congregation that had called the licentiate. If any of the congregation had occasion to object to the man who was to be ordained and installed, the opportunity to put in his protest was afforded at that time. No objection being presented, the presbytery proceeded with the ordination by fasting, prayer, the imposition of hands, and the preaching of the ordination sermon, followed by the installation. When a duly ordained minister accepted a call to a new charge, he was usually installed by a committee of presbytery at the meetinghouse of the congregation that had called him.[28]

DUTIES OF A MINISTER

Certain important duties devolved upon a minister who accepted the charge of a congregation. In the first instance he had the important duty of teaching and preaching to the members from the Word of God and of expounding doctrinal precepts current in Presbyterian circles. Furthermore, catechizing, by which the young people as well as the old were

[27] Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, I, 15.

[28] *Ibid.*, I, 92, 168; Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 188. The following is an example of the procedure: "A Proclamation being made 3 times by Mr Geo: Gillespie, at the door of the Meeting house of Achterora, that if any person had any thing to object against the Ordaining of Mr Adam Boyd they should make it known to the presbytery now sitting; No objection being made they proceeded to his Ordination; Solemnly setting him apart to the work of the Ministry, with Fasting, Prayer & Imposition of the Hands of the Presbytery, Mr Henry Hook preaching his Ordination Sermon according to Appointment, & presiding in the Work." Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, I, 92.

carefully grounded in the Bible and in the precepts of Presbyterianism as embodied in the catechisms, was an essential feature of Presbyterian training that was under the direction of the minister. The administration of baptism and of the Lord's Supper was also a necessary part of a minister's sacred office. Within his own congregation visitation of the members and of the sick increased a minister's duties and oftentimes taxed his strength because of the wide expanse of the parish. From time to time complaints against those ministers who had been deficient in the fulfillment of those duties were brought before the presbyteries.[29]

In addition to the obligations to his local congregation the minister had to perform certain tasks which were assigned to him by the presbytery of which he was a member and by the synod. As a member of a presbytery and the synod it was incumbent upon him to attend the stated meetings where special duties, such as serving on committees and commissions, were assigned to him. To the desolate and vacant pulpits he went in the fulfillment of a duty as a missionary. Assignments to preach to congregations were periodically made by the presbyteries so that a minister in addition to serving his own congregation

[29] Minutes of the Session of Tinicum Presbyterian Church, p. 7; "Journal of William Black," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History . . .*, I, 411; Webster, *op. cit.*, pp. 122–124; Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, II, 211; Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, III, 27, 28.

A Commissioner from Little Britain in Lancaster County presented to the Presbytery of Donegal a request for the severance of pastoral relations between that congregation and the Reverend James Hunt on the grounds that he had been deficient in preaching and visiting for a year. He asserted that during the four years that the Reverend James Hunt had been their minister he had seldom visited the families, and when he did visit he gathered them in groups of three, four, or six families at a time. Furthermore he claimed that the minister's residence outside of the bounds of the congregation hampered him in the fulfilment of pastoral duties. In his own defense James Hunt claimed that he had made as many visitations as were possible under the difficulties of sickness in his own family, of the need to journey to Virginia to visit his parents, of the necessity to visit Philadelphia to receive medical attention, and in the care of harvests and of his property at night from thieves for a period of five or six weeks. The difficulty between the congregation and James Hunt culminated when the presbytery dissolved the pastoral relationship at the request of the latter. Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, II, 211–217.

conducted services on a weekday or on some sabbath for congregations outside of his parish. Licentiates were usually designated to preach to those congregations that did not have settled ministers and to the frontier settlements, although ministers with charges went on long missionary journeys. In the fulfillment of such tasks a minister journeyed hundreds of miles in a year. David and John Brainerd, Charles Beatty, George Duffield, John Cuthbertson, David McClure, and John McMillan were some of those most actively engaged in such service. Many ministers, on their own initiative, assumed the responsibility of preparing young men to become ministers of the Gospel, and subsequently established academies in various communities as significant contributions to the educational life of colonial Pennsylvania.

VII

THE ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL CONGREGATIONS

THE CHARACTER OF RELIGIOUS SERVICES

To those people who took part in the great movement that led to the spread of the Presbyterian form of Christianity in Pennsylvania one of the essential features of their religious life was religious fellowship. The realization that the full enjoyment of any religious service was dependent upon a congregation's ability to maintain the central features of such services in the preaching, from the Scriptures, of a regularly ordained minister prompted them to provide such inspirational guidance and instruction as soon as possible. Having a minister to preach to them acted as an incentive to Presbyterians to assemble periodically for worship. The Sabbath, when these people rested not only from their labors but also from numerous forms of amusement, was customarily the day designated for the holding of services. But not infrequently in those settlements where ministers had not settled services were held during the week whenever the people could be assembled by the ministers who were sent out by the presbyteries for that purpose. Usually it was necessary to send out notices to inform the people of the place and time of meeting.

In the early period of Presbyterian developments in colonial Pennsylvania and in the frontier settlements, irregularities marked the frequency and the nature of the services. If

there were no settled ministers, the people had to depend upon the assignments made by the presbyteries. Consequently some communities had preaching services at irregular periods. Battling against great odds on the frontier, some settlements were forced to forego the privilege of the Gospel ministry for months at a time because the severity of the winters, the impassability of swollen streams, and the dangers from Indian attacks deprived them of ministerial supplies. Sometimes these people in the absence of a minister gathered for purposes of worship under the guidance of some layman, or a minister of another denomination brought "the message of Life" to the Presbyterians.[1] Irregularities of the aforesaid character were bound to arise at a time when there was a lack of ministerial supplies for people whose experience and training had imbedded the practice of assembling for worship.

As the communities grew and the sections that at one time comprised the frontier became more thickly populated, the facilities for providing religious services grew. The increase in the size of a community made possible the obtaining of enough subscribers for the support of ministerial supplies. When a settlement had grown sufficiently to secure a part of a minister's time, or all of his time, the way was open for assembling at stated times. Many a Presbyterian community passed through the different stages of holding services led at first by a member of the community—a layman—and then followed by the arrival of a duly ordained minister several times a year for the conducting of services; then to the time when ministerial supplies arrived each month; and finally the day appeared when they were able to pay for the continued services of a regularly installed minister.

The method of conducting the services depended to a large degree upon the individual in charge. That variations pre-

[1] Minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, III, 7; Hanna, *op. cit.*, "Diary of Rev. David McClure," II, 83 ff.; *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* pp. 17–18.

vailed is quite apparent from the fact that the Presbytery at Philadelphia in 1707 admonished its members "for propagating the interest of religion" to "read and comment upon a chapter of the Bible every Lord's day, as discretion and circumstances of time, place, &c., will admit." This warning was complied with by all the members with the exception of Jedidiah Andrews, the minister of the Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia.[2]

Prayer, singing of the Psalms, reading of the Word, preaching, catechizing, administration of the sacraments, and the collection for the poor were among the more important exercises of religious services. The chief attention of a congregation, however, centered around the sermon in both the morning and afternoon services, and also in the evening service when that was held. The sermons varied in length from the one that was brief and graphic to that which was discursive and almost two hours in length. They varied in character from the searching sermon of regeneration, preached by the revivalists, to the cold and methodical sermon of the dogmatician. That many forceful sermons carrying conviction and leading men to Christ were preached is apparent from the results of such preaching, especially during the Great Awakening. Such ministers as Gilbert Tennent and Samuel Blair among others were noted for the soul-stirring sermons which they preached. One of a company of young men who went to hear Gilbert Tennent in 1744 described his preaching in the following humorous manner:

> We found him Delivering his Doctrine with a very Good Grace, Split his Text as Judiciously, turn'd up the Whites of his Eyes as Theologically, Cuff'd his Cushion as Orthodoxly, and twist'd his Band as Primitively as his Master Whitefield coud have done, had he been there himself.[3]

[2] *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* pp. 8–9.

[3] "Journal of William Black," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* I, 411.

Gilbert Tennent was the leading revivalist in Pennsylvania during the Great Awakening.

Jedidiah Andrews, from Franklin's description of his preaching, was a good example of a doctrinarian. Franklin characterized his discourses, or sermons, as

> . . . chiefly either polemic arguments, or explications of the peculiar doctrine of our sect, and were all to me very dry, uninteresting, and unedifying, since not a single moral principle was inculcated or enforced; their aim seeming to be rather to make us Presbyterians than good citizens.

When Andrews took as his text, Philippians IV: 8: "Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things," Franklin looked for a discourse on morality, but

> . . . he [Andrews] confined himself to five points only, as meant by the apostle:—Keeping holy the Sabbath day, Being diligent in reading the holy Scriptures, Attending duly the public worship, Partaking of the sacraments, and Paying due respect to God's ministers. These all might be good things; but, as they were not the kind of good things I expected from that text I despaired of ever meeting with them from any other, was disgusted and attended his preaching no more.[4]

At a later date Franklin testified to the good effects of the preaching of Whitefield, of whom Gilbert Tennent was a diligent pupil and supporter. Between these two types of preaching there was a wide latitude for sermons of varying degrees.

In an age when diversities and distractions were not deterring influences to religious activity, much of the thought revolved around religious problems created by the discourses of ministers, catechizing, and reading of the Bible, the infalli-

[4] *Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin,* Ch. VI.

ble Word of God. Since the Bible formed the background of much of their reading, what incentives to strive for ultimate victory in their life struggles in the wilderness were those glorious accounts of the ancient struggle of Israel! And then in contrast the ruggedness of the vigorous frontier life was humbled in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper—"a monument of the great facts of redemption." Sometimes several days were spent in preparation for the observance of this sacrament. Fasting, prayer, and preaching were the means of preparation. So important was the observance of the Lord's Supper that people gathered from adjacent congregations on such occasions to participate in its celebration. If these members of other congregations brought testimonials of good standing from their ministers or sessions, they were given communion tokens by which they were admitted to the Lord's Table. The frequency of its observance varied. In some cases it was celebrated twice yearly in accordance with the practice "at home," and in other instances it was held quarterly.[5]

THE FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS OF RELIGIOUS WORK

Of the various demands upon the financial resources of congregations the largest and most urgent one was that of compensating ministers for their services. The contributions to the support of a minister depended upon the resourcefulness of the members and upon their willingness to give. Since the circumstances of many immigrant Presbyterians were greatly restricted and many small communities had difficulty in providing sufficient funds to secure the entire services of a minister, the presbyteries endeavored to maintain a certain amount of uniformity between the labors of a minister and the compensation that a congregation could provide. Although many of the Presbyterian ministers were not entirely dependent

[5] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 4; Webster, *op. cit.*, 122–123; "Extracts from the Consistory Book of the 2d Philadelphia Presbyterian Church." (No pagination.) "At home" refers to the Old World.

upon the subscriptions of the congregations, the laborers were regarded as worthy of their hire. Therefore the presbyteries endeavored to maintain the compensation at a uniform standard that varied with the times and the conditions.

Before 1760 any congregation presenting a call for the entire time of a minister was expected to have subscriptions that would assure a minister a compensation in the neighborhood of £60 annually. After 1760 a noticeable increase in the standard of compensation was apparent in the various sections of the province until ministers received remunerations ranging from £100 to £150 annually. In 1768 the Presbytery of Donegal admonished the commissioners for the congregations of Paxtang, Derry, and Donegal that together were paying the Reverend John Roan £70 annually with these words: "And as the sum Total of their Subscription, however it might have been a competent Support in former times, is now insufficient for the maintainance of a Gospel Minister; the Pby [Presbytery], recommend it to those people to augment their subscription." [6] The general attitude of the presbyteries in dealing with the matter of securing compensation for ministers appears in the decision of the Presbytery of Donegal in October 1770:

. . . That y^e^ Plan commonly used by this Presbytery in taking Care of the Support of Gospel Ministers is highly rational & warranted by y^e^ Sacred Scriptures. That neither Scripture nor Reason has fixed upon any one unvariable Plan for raising this Support, but leave it to be determined by the best Light that can be obtained by y^e^ several Congregations in their different Circumstances—that however it may be a Ministers Duty in the first Planting of Churches, in many Cases not to demand nor even receive such a Support from those among whom they labour; & however Ministers, in affluent Circumstances may not insist upon it; yet in Churches already planted & duly organized, it is y^e^ Duty of the People to offer their Minister a proper Maintenance & leave it to his own Disposal.[7]

[6] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, II, 292–293.
[7] *Ibid.*, III, 15–16.

Subscriptions in money, however, were not always customary. Sometimes a part of a minister's salary was paid in produce, or some member of a congregation agreed to "accommodate" him "while he remains in a Single State," or the congregation provided free of charge a house and a plantation called the glebe.[8]

The practice of engaging a minister for a part of his time became quite common. Many frontier communities, as well as some of the older congregations along the Delaware River, were unable to raise subscriptions large enough to pay for the full services of a minister. So the Presbytery determined the amount of service that should be rendered for the sum offered. As a result the labors of a minister would often be divided among several congregations. Frequently presbyteries directed ministers to give one-eighth, one-sixth, one-fourth, one-third, one-half, or three-fourths of their time, in return for the subscriptions offered by the different societies.[9] A minister not only had two or more congregations under his care with meetinghouses ten or more miles apart, but also served as a missionary to congregations within the bounds of the presbytery to which he belonged. Sometimes a minister's health failed under the rigors of journeying week after week through the wilderness to minister to the needs of scattered Presbyterians.[10]

A case illustrative of the aforesaid aspects is that of William Bertram, of Derry and Paxtang, who after having expressed his satisfaction with the amount that the people of that region

[8] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 3, 56, 57, 80, 111, 145, 163; II, 239; Minutes of the Philadelphia Presbytery and the Second Presbytery of Philadelphia, p. 41; Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, III, 171; Minutes of the Session of the Tinicum Presbyterian Church, p. 8.

[9] Minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, III, 69, 113; Minutes of the Presbytery of Abington, pp. 85, 86; Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 302. The Rev. David McClure stated: "The ministers of this Province [Pennsylvania] are supported by subscription, and appear to live as well as their brethren in New England. Although their salaries are small, they have opportunities to purchase lands, and have comfortable farms." Hanna, *op. cit.*, II, 86.

[10] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, II, 5.

had subscribed, was installed as pastor in 1732. The Presbytery of Donegal concurred in the choice of the commissioners from both Derry and Paxtang (the form of spelling in the records for the latter settlement is Paxton) "to take care y^t^ [that] y^e^ subscription for M^r^. Bertrams maintenance be paid & to collect y^e^ same until y^e^ cong^n^ [congregation] be better regulate." For his further support the congregation made over to Bertram and his heirs "their right & title to y^e^ Plantaon [plantation] commonly called y^e^ Indian town, purchased from y^e^ Indians, over & above their subscriptions." [11]

Four years later Bertram found the work of serving these two groups, about ten miles apart, too burdensome, and decided to minister to only one of these settlements. Both groups put in bids for his services. The people of Paxtang offered a yearly support "of £60 one half in money, the other half in hemp flax linin yearn [linen yarn] or linen cloth at market price." The people of Derry offered £55 "to be paid in like manner: both declaring y^t^ however they would allow their Minister the benefit of overplus subscriptions, yet they will expect a congregational discharge yearly on y^e^ pay^nt^ [payment] of sd respective Quotas; both parties also ingage to Chuse Collectors for their respective Quotas." [12] After Bertram decided to accept the call to Derry, the Presbytery directed the people of Derry "speedily to improve upon y^e^ Glebe-land that was talked of, in order to make it habitable for M^r^. Bertram that his Easement of travel may be obtained." [13]

But it was not always the good fortune of a minister to receive his salary in full. When a congregation fell short of meeting its subscribed obligation, the lot of the minister was seriously affected, even though he might have a farm as an additional source of income. One of the most flagrant instances

[11] *Ibid.*, I, 4.
[12] *Ibid.*, I, 128, 129.
[13] *Ibid.*, I, 133.

of a congregation's failure to meet its obligation was that of the Congregation of Big Spring. During a period of eight years (1759–1767) that congregation had fallen in arrears in the payment of the salary of George Duffield to the amount of £213. Many other instances of a congregation's shortcoming in this respect appear on the records. Presbyteries had to resort to the practice of depriving congregations of ministerial supplies and of dissolving the pastoral relations for the failure on the part of congregations to pay the arrears.[14]

The frequency with which some congregations fell in arrears prompted James Anderson, of the Presbytery of Donegal, to present an overture in 1737 to that Presbytery in which he stressed the responsibility of congregations to their ministers. The Presbytery approved the overture, and ordered the public reading of it "on a Lord's day in our respective Meetting houses." This overture called the attention of the people to the necessity of their whole-hearted support to those who preached the Gospel among them. After surveying the hardships that a minister has to undergo when the congregation failed to support him and after signifying that "the main end & business of ministry" was to win souls to Christ by the teaching and preaching of the Gospel, he proposed that, since it was the duty of a people to support the minister of the Gospel, the elders of every congregation, or others chosen for the purpose, should obtain subscriptions for the support of the ministry from every "family & free person within S^{d}[said] Congregation." Failure on the part of such individuals to contribute would be regarded as a disorderly act. Since many of the people, disorderly in this respect, sought to participate in the Lord's Supper, the elders, or deacons, should not supply them with tokens by which they were admitted to the Lord's Table unless "they can justly plead poverty." He cited as a worthy example the practice of the Protestant Church in

[14] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 3, 4, 178, 190, 281; II, 44, 46, 239, 313.

France where subscriptions for the minister's salary were paid before every observance of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; otherwise the people did not regard themselves worthy to be admitted to the privileges of this sacrament. Anderson believed that the adoption of such a plan would exclude unworthy persons "for I'm persuaded that all truely godly persons will be careful in this matter, of doing Justice to their Minis[rs]." He concluded with an exhortation to the people to "be frequent constant & Serious attendants on y[e] public preaching of the Gos[l]. [Gospel]," and to contribute conscientiously within their means, and to guard against needless prodigality and extravagance in their habits of life.[15]

Doubtless such admonitions stirred some to greater endeavors in behalf of their ministers. But frontier congregations exposed to Indian attacks, crop failures, and other distressing circumstances, had difficulty in fulfilling such obligations as readily as those in the more stabilized centers. Hence congregations continued to fall short of meeting their obligations to their ministers.

Demands from other sources drew upon the resources of congregations in their endeavors to further religious work. Next to the minister's salary the purchase of land, the building of the meetinghouse and pastor's study, and the upkeep of the buildings and graveyard made their demands upon the resources of a religious society. Although some meetinghouses were built on squatter claims, legal titles to the land were obtained at a later time by purchase with funds that had been contributed by the members of the congregations. If the evidences of civil authority were the courthouses and jails, those of the religious life of a people were the meetinghouses and graveyards.

But such evidences of devotion to life's sacred mission were not the only channels through which the contributions of congregations were directed. Charitable enterprises prompted

[15] *Ibid.*, I, 158–162.

many to respond to appeals which came from various sources. When calamity in the form of fire, loss of crops, or death of the sole support of a family befell a member or a family of the congregation, the members of the congregation and other congregations to whom appeals had been made through presbytery responded by making contributions. Occasionally ministers in dire need as a result of some calamity or in the time of life when their earning powers were negligible were assisted by contributions from various congregations. Congregations, appealed to for assistance to maintain funds "for pious uses" or for the support of ministers' widows and children, responded readily to the appeals that came from the presbyteries. As the educational activities of Presbyterians grew, congregations gave to the support of "pious youths" who were preparing for the Gospel ministry in some educational institution.

METHODS OF RAISING FUNDS

To meet the demands that befell a congregation from time to time several methods for the raising of money were employed. One of the most common means of doing so was by subscriptions, by which members agreed to pay a certain sum yearly for the support of the minister. Commissioners, or collectors, were designated by the congregation to obtain subscriptions, a statement of which was laid before presbytery when the call was presented to a minister.[16] It has already been noted that presbyteries impressed upon the congregations the necessity of presenting a statement of their subscriptions along with their calls. The amount and form of the subscriptions varied with the circumstances in which the subscribers were situated.[17] Some subscribers agreed to pay in currency, while

[16] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 111.

[17] Financial Record of the New Londonderry Congregation, p. 37. A subscription list of this congregation in 1758 show variations from five shillings to two pounds.

In the subscription presented with the call to Francis Alison from New Lon-

the contributions of others were in produce. Another customary method employed for the obtaining of funds was by the renting of pews. The most desirable pews, usually those that were located near the pulpit, brought the largest returns, and the others rented for sums in relation to their relative importance. When subscriptions and pew rents did not bring sufficient returns, other schemes had to be devised to meet the obligations. In one instance the Presbytery of Philadelphia advised that the minister and three elders of a certain congregation should try to influence the congregation to submit their estates to be rated "in Such Manner as they can best agree" to avoid falling in arrears in the payment of the minister's salary.[18]

Lotteries, donations, and bequests were the other means by which the funds of a congregation were replenished. By special enactment of the provincial Assembly some Presbyterian congregations were granted the right to raise money by lotteries for the purpose of building meetinghouses or parsonages, and to repair church buildings.[19] Donations and bequests occasionally provided adequate funds for maintaining religious projects. Sometimes gifts in the form of land opened the way for the building of meetinghouses and for the providing of burial grounds, and laid the foundations for the establishment of religious communities. Bequests of land and money added decidedly to the financial resources of a number of churches.[20] Although there were instances, especially in the more flourishing communities, of congregations with adequate

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don, twenty persons obligated themselves to pay "five Pounds pensylvania Currency each yearly & every year." Minutes of the Philadelphia Presbytery and the Second Presbytery of Philadelphia, Part II, 41.

[18] "Mem[a] Made From the Book of Minutes of the 1[st] Presbyterian Church Beginning May 1, 1747 & Ending 22[d] July 1772," *Jour. Pres. Hist. Soc.*, III, 182; Minutes of Presbytery of Philadelphia, V, 34.

[19] *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, IX, 580; X, 41; *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, IX, 580, 622; X, 41, 239, 369.

[20] Declaration of William Duffield, Samuel Davies and David Davies, of Lower West Conecocheague Presbyterian Church; Minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia (1758–81), 118–119, 130.

resources for the promotion of their religious life, there were many congregations, on the other hand, that had difficulty in securing sufficient funds for maintaining their work. But in spite of indigence among many frontier societies in their early history they, in time, became active Presbyterian congregations.

THE ORDERING OF PRESBYTERIAN SOCIETY BY SESSIONS

During the eighteenth century the precepts and practices of Presbyterianism found expression in the New World in the regulation and control of many aspects of the daily life of Presbyterians through the functioning of the church sessions. The Directory of Church Government bestowed upon the eldership the power to enquire into the knowledge and spiritual estate of any member, to admonish and rebuke, and to exclude from the Lord's Table. Although a paucity of sessional records of the colonial Presbyterian churches in Pennsylvania exists, those that are available are sufficient to reveal the multiplicity and varied character of the cases that came before the sessions, and throw considerable light on the ways in which sessions exercised their prerogatives.

Although the diversity of cases that were handled by the sessions may seem unusual in this day, it must be remembered that the control which sessions exercised had much to do in regulating the lives of church members within their respective communities at a time when civil authority was ineffective and impotent in the face of frontier conditions that gave freedom of expression to individuality. Sessions, striving to impress more forcefully upon erring individuals the sovereignty and righteousness of God, admonished individuals to depart from their sinful ways and to live lives in harmony with their profession as followers of Christ. The multifariousness of these cases that appear upon the records might lead one to conclude in the words of Shakespeare:

The evil that men do lives after them,
The good is oft interred with their bones.

But the sum total of these endeavors to guide aright had a type of influence that seldom finds expression today in the recorded pages of the historian.

Cognizant of the fact that "by their fruits ye shall know them," sessions endeavored to impress upon members the urgency of right conduct as an outward expression of spiritual experiences, and admonished as follows: "we hope that in these things [matters of conduct] you will submit yourselves unto us who are call'd of God to Rule over you, to admonish you and watch for your souls as it is meet in the Lord." [21] The rugged Presbyterians, trained in Calvinistic theology and engaged in the conquest of a wilderness, looked upon attendance at worship and the observance of the sacraments as not only a duty, but also a privilege. Sessions, however, could deprive disorderly members of these privileges. To be excluded from participation in such a manner was regarded as a serious matter since it excluded the individual from public worship of the Lord. One who has followed the early history of Presbyterians, as well as that of other sects, in England, Scotland, Ireland, and elsewhere would be unfair to them if he did not recognize the fact that the assembling together of believers was an essential feature of religious worship, and was practised in the face of the preventive measures taken by governments to destroy the effectiveness of such a time-honored custom. The rapidity with which Presbyterian congregations grew in number and size in Pennsylvania even when there was a shortage of ministers is a testimony of the significance of that practice to the Presbyterian settler.

Sessions and the higher judicatures found in this psychological outlook for fostering the religious life a potent factor in inducing violators of Christian practices to submit to the

[21] "Records of Old Londonderry Congregation," *Jour. Pres. Hist. Soc.*, VIII, 349.

judgment of a religious judicature. Consequently anyone guilty of behavior unbecoming a member of Christ's body was in danger of being declared "no Regular member of the church of Christ, and to have no Right to y^e^ distinguishing communion & privileges of y^e^ visible church" if, after being found guilty of a sin by the session, he refused to make a satisfactory acknowledgment of his offenses.[22] The Presbytery of Donegal in the case of Lazarus Lowry of Donegal directed the session of the Donegal Presbyterian Church to publish a sentence "of Excoicaon [excommunication] agt [against] him, any time w^th^in [within] four moneths after y^e^ date hereof [September, 1733], as y^e^ session shall think convenient."[23] Nor could one escape the effect that his offense entailed within a small community where the concern was not always that of compassion for an erring brother or sister, for not infrequently the accusers and witnesses that appeared before the sessions had to be reprimanded for the condemnatory attitude assumed towards the accused person.

Cases appeared before the local religious court, the session, in various ways. If a disagreement between several individuals became so intense that the results were unbecoming church members and the peace of the community was endangered, the session summoned the offenders to appear in its presence. In other instances individuals appeared before the session with complaints against offenders for some unneighborly conduct. The accused, in turn, were summoned before the session to present their defense. Furthermore, the troubled consciences, the result of unconfessed sins, led others to present their difficulties to the sessions of their respective congregations. In the obtaining of evidence it was customary for the sessions to rely on the testimony of witnesses whose reliability had to be assured. After the witnesses had been heard, sessions decided upon the guilt or innocence of the accused.

[22] Minutes of the Session of New Londonderry, p. 11.
[23] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 12.

The nature of the cases that sessions handled varied greatly, and ran the whole gamut of social and religious offenses common to that day, such as illegitimate relations, marital disagreements, false accusations, questionable business dealings, encroachments on property rights, discordant relations between children and parents and also between indented servants and masters, lying, drunkenness, violation of the Lord's day, fights, swearing, etc. In the handling of these affairs the sessions were confronted with many delicate problems bearing on social relationships. Wisdom, judgment, and charitableness were shown in the handling of the numerous cases in a most striking manner. To estimate the extent of the service rendered by sessions in the maintenance of order is practically impossible. That the influence was far-reaching is apparent not only in the number of cases that were brought before the sessions, but also in the response of members to the judgment that was handed down by the sessions. This service, however, was rendered not merely for the sake of law and order in the civil sense, but for the cause of righteousness, justice, and peace within the bounds of the congregations. An examination of a number of cases will in itself be revealing.

One Lord's day morning in August 1741, William Kenny, a member of the Londonderry Congregation, Chester County, found some cattle of his neighbor, Robert Turner, feeding in his field of oats. Such devastation was more than his Christian fortitude could endure; so he drove them into Turner's field of oats and corn, where he left them without giving notice to Turner. The latter, resenting such retaliation, brought the matter before the session. After hearing the case, the session declared the action of Kenny "to be very sinful and offensive, seeming to have proceeded from a revengeful Disposition at y^{e} time, and highly aggravated by being done on the Lord's Day." Although Kenny excused his failure to notify Turner on the grounds that he thought Turner would soon find the cattle, the session judged him guilty of sin, and

directed him to "make a penitent acknowlegement to us of his sin therein; and y^t^ he allow & consent, for y^e^ removing of the scandal from y^e^ church, that this minute be publickly read in the congregation." He accordingly gave satisfaction by complying with this judgment.[24]

Another instance of an offense on the Sabbath appears in the records of the Middle Spring Presbyterian Church, in Cumberland County. A certain individual of the congregation was accused of trading with an Indian on the Sabbath. When the accused appeared before the session to answer the charge, he asserted that the firing of two shots had prompted him to investigate the cause of the shooting with the result that he found an Indian who had just killed a fawn. After the Indian had dressed the deer and had taken what venison he wanted, he told the accused to take the remainder of the venison. So he and another man who had arrived in the meantime carried it indoors. In his defense the accused stated that, after feeding the Indian, the latter asked for meal and butter, which the accused gave him, but not as a reward for the venison because no bargain had been struck between them. The session, not convinced with the account of the accused, concluded that "J. P. do acknowledge his Breach of Sabbath in this Matter and be rebuk'd before the Session for his Sin." [25]

In the two cases on record involving relationships between masters and servants (one definitely referred to as an "indented" servant) the judgments handed down by the sessions did not favor the servants, both of whom were women. The one case involved the accusation of the servant against the master; the other was the charge of the master and mistress against the servant. In the former case the charge of "uncleanness" that was brought against the master was dismissed by the session because the servant was found "guilty of sundry

[24] Minutes of the Session of New Londonderry, p. 4.

[25] Quoted by Alfred Nevin in *An Historical Sketch of the Old Presbyterian Congregations of Cumberland and Franklin Counties in Pennsylvania*, p. 26.

lies & express contradictions" and because the evidence "brot in does not amount to sufficient proof for a judicial condemning" of the master as guilty.[26] In the second case in which the master made the complaint against a former servant, the session, from the evidence presented, found that the servant had behaved undutifully, had lied in reporting the matter, and had been guilty of "imprecating vengeance" upon the mistress; and directed the servant to acknowledge her fault to her master and mistress; and ordered that she be rebuked before the session "for the contradiction she has hereby given to her religious Profession." [27]

Matters of barter and trade, characterized by questionable dealing on the part of the parties to the agreements, came before sessions for settlement. The session of the congregation of New Londonderry had to decide upon an accusation brought by Thomas Dobbins against Hanse Kirkpatrick for a breach of an agreement between them. Kirkpatrick had sold Dobbins flaxseed at 4s 10d per bushel when the bargain was first struck. A witness testified that Kirkpatrick had agreed to hold the flaxseed in his barn for several days until Dobbins could get some hogsheads in which to put the seed. Some days later when Kirkpatrick brought the flaxseed, he told Dobbins that he would not deliver it to him on the basis of the rate agreed upon earlier for he would lose 12s on the deal because of the advance in price "at y^{e} Landing." After hearing the witnesses and deliberating on the case, the session judged Kirkpatrick guilty of a breach of bargain and ordered him to acknowledge "his sin in so doing." But before the order had been carried out, Kirkpatrick produced a witness who gave evidence to the effect that the accused had understood the agreement to be of such a character that he would have the advantage of the increase in the market price. So the session cleared Kirkpatrick, who was a member of that body, of the

[26] Minutes of the Session of New Londonderry, pp. 1–2.
[27] Alfred Nevin, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 27.

charge of a breach of bargain.[28] The records, however, do not reveal whether Dobbins bought the flaxseed at the 4s 10d per bushel, or at the market price prevailing when the flaxseed was delivered.

Quarreling oftentimes became so heated and the results so unbecoming church members that sessions were confronted with the necessity of taking deliberate steps to settle differences between contending parties. A certain John Smith, a shoemaker, was "found guilty of giving abuse to Archibald M^{c}dowel, as himself confesses, by strokes as well as Words." As a result of such conduct the session required Smith to make "a humble & penitent acknowlegement before them of his grievous sin therein, and promise to avoid such unchristian wicked Behaviour for y^{e} future, and appoint y^{t} he be sharply rebuk'd." [29]

Another affair that nearly developed into fisticuffs appears on the records of the session of the New Londonderry congregation. The setting was at one of those familiar scenes of colonial days, a house-raising. A number of men of the district had gathered to put up a cabin for a certain John Tarbet. In the course of the work David Allen and William Armstrong, Jr. were engaged in notching the same log. After the latter had finished the notching of his end of the log, he seized the occasion to torment Allen, who had not proved to be as speedy in his task. The latter, not being in the mood for teasing, indulged in an unseemly reply, and in the exchange of remarks called Armstrong a liar. A timely intervention of the other workers averted a fight between the two men. Although Allen threatened to take the case before a justice, the session settled the affair. In handing down a judgment, the session declared the conduct of the two men unchristian and sinful; and directed them to acknowledge their error in conduct before the session and in the presence of each other after a ses-

[28] Minutes of the Session of New Londonderry, p. 10.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

sional rebuke had been administered. The two offenders complied with the judgment.[30]

In conducting the trials that involved various phases of Christian conduct, sessions customarily relied upon the teachings and practices set forth in the Bible. A certain John Robinson was brought before the session of New Londonderry for unseemly and obscene speech to Jane Cochran and Margaret Ker. The testimony of these two led the session to judge him guilty of

> . . . expressions [that] were most sinful & vile, and unbecoming a Christian Profession: that they were such foolish Talking & jesting as is condemned by y^{e} Apostle St. Paul; and contrary to that Rule of y^{e} same Apostle laid down for all Christians, let your speech be always w^{t} [with] grace, seasoned w^{t} salt that it may be good to y^{e} use of Edifying & minister grace to the hearers. And it is Judged necessary & requir'd y^{t} the s^{d} [said] John Robinson make a humble penitent acknowlegement of his great sin in those Expressions before y^{e} session, and before Robert & Margaret Ker, and Robert & Jane Cochran; and y^{t} he express his hearty grief for them as sinful before God, and promise, by Divine Grace, to behave more becoming a Christian for y^{e} future: and y^{t} he be, moreover, sharply Rebuk'd before them and this confession & Rebuke is appointed to be given on thursday next. N. B. it was done accordingly.[31]

For the sin of fornication it was customary to deprive an individual of the privileges of church membership. To those who regarded this deprivation as a serious handicap to their spiritual welfare a course was open for restoration to those privileges. An appeal for restoration brought some form of judgment from sessions. In the case of Isabel Wilson, who was guilty of fornication, the session of the New Londonderry congregation, in view of the warning that she had received and of her former position as a communicant at the Lord's Table, decided

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 17–19.
[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 14–15.

. . . it necessary as a proportionable censure for y^e^ aggravated crime, and satisfactory evidence of her Humiliation & Repentance and Warning to all others, that She, in a publick manner before y^e^ congregation, humbly acknowlege her aggravated sin & profess hearty sorrow for it as an offence against God & scandal to his church, for three several Sabbath days viz: the 2^d^ & 4^th^ Sabbaths of this month, and the 2^d^ Sabbath of the next. N. B. this order was comply'd with.[32]

Judgments of this character did not fall solely on women. Men, when found guilty of fornication, had to make acknowledgment of their sorrow for such a sin in order to regain their good standing in a Christian community.[33]

Sessions were also called upon to settle matters involving promises of marriage. Upon the notice of the marriage between Mary Weldon and Thomas Gibson having been given, William Corsby entered a complaint to the effect that Mary Weldon had promised to marry him. The session of the New Londonderry congregation, investigating this complaint, ordered both parties to appear before that body. In the evidence presented it was revealed that, although Mary Weldon had promised to marry William Corsby, she no longer wished to do so and that Corsby was not willing to be married to her against her will. The session handed down the following judgment:

. . . in y^e^ first place, That it was very sinful & offensive to God for Will^m^ Corsby to insist for such positive & unreserved promises from her; as also, sinful for her to make them; for which they have both cause to be humbled before God. The session does also Declare y^t^ it was sinful in her to take up any other Resolution afterwards contrary to her s^d^ engagements to Will^m^ Corsby; and moreover, y^t^ s^d^ Will^m^ if he would insist upon it, might oblige s^d^ Mary in conscience to marry him pursuant to her express promises & engagements: But inasmuch as he is not desirous (and, we think, wisely) that she should be married to him against her inclination, and she being disinclin'd averse to it;

[32] Minutes of the Session of New Londonderry, pp. 13–14.
[33] Minutes of the Session of Tinicum Presbyterian Church, p. 10.

The Session does judge, that, seeing of two evils we shou'd choose the least, it is most advisable for them, as things are thus circumstanced at present, by mutual consent to give up their Rights to each other, and repent of their forementiond sins. N: B: They both accordingly, did, before y^e^ session, release, & drop all claims upon each other.[34]

Another class of cases that caused sessions considerable concern was that of drinking. It was not a case of individuals being condemned for drinking, but rather for excess and intemperance in drinking. For indulging excessively in drink, individuals were dismissed from church, and were restored to membership only after having made public acknowledgment, of the commission of a sin, on some Lord's day.[35]

One case worthy of further consideration concerned some members of the New Londonderry congregation who were guilty of the "great and scandalous sin of excess in strong Drink." The occasions that caused the downfall of members of this congregation were found at public sales where the practice of excessive indulgence was common. To check the evil practice the session handled the affair in the following manner:

. . . we [the session] look upon it our Duty in this publick manner, to testify against the corrupt practice of giving & drinking spirituous Liquor on such occassions: inasmuch as y^e^ shameful & unmanly, as well as unchristian & ungodly sin of Drunkenness, more or less, is generally the consequence of it; so that it is likely to corrupt & Debauch' the Land, & make bad men much worse, to y^e^ great endangering of y^e^ everlasting perdition of souls, the prophanation of God's Holy Name, & wounding of his church. Moreover, we think y^t^ they who so liberally provide & plentifully bestow strong Drink on those occasions, and they that have y^e^ distribution of it and so forwardly hold it to, & even press it on their pleasing Bidders, are not only accessory to others Drunkenness, but are also guilty of gross fraud & injustice;

[34] "Records of Old Londonderry Congregation," *Jour. Presby. Hist. Soc.*, VIII, 347.
[35] *Ibid.*, VIII, 351.

elevating men beyond y^e^ sober solid exercise of their Reason, that so they may get y^e^ better prices for their goods, and get advantage to themselves from the others incapacity & folly. Two things relating to this matter we wou'd heartily recommend to our Brethren of this Congregation for whom we are bound to have a peculiar care, first, that when any of you may see cause to make such publick sales, you wou'd not comply w^t^ this pernicious custom of giving Intoxicating Drink, but look upon it as an unjust & sinful method for advancing your own gain. Secondly, that when you have occasion to be at vendues you wou'd give no countenance to this practice, but let their Drink alone to such as will take no admonition contrary to their own Lusts, who care not y^t^ all real Religion were banish'd out of the World: and, by thus distinguishing yourself shew y^t^ you are against whatsoever tends to the promoting of vice & irreligion in y^e^ Land, and drawing down y^e^ Divine judgment upon it, and we hope that in these things you will submit yourselves unto us who are call'd of God to Rule over you, to admonish you and watch for your souls as it is meet in the Lord.[36]

Swearing, vulgar and obscene talk, and lying among church members were denounced. Individuals guilty of such offenses were usually deprived of those privileges enjoyed by members in good standing. Restoration to full privileges of membership was effected after public confession had been made before the congregation.[37] In this manner throughout the colonial period in the older centers of settlement as well as on the frontier all forms of unchristian conduct by Presbyterians were dealt with by the sessions as a duty and prerogative of that body for the maintenance of Christian standards of living within the congregation and the community.

[36] "Records of Old Londonderry Congregation," *Jour. Presby. Hist. Soc.*, VIII, 348–349.

[37] *Ibid.*, VIII, 347, 351; Minutes of the Session of Tinicum Presbyterian Church, p. 8; "Extracts from Consistory Book of 2^d^ Philadelphia Presbyterian Church. . . ." (No pagination.)

VIII

GROWTH OF ORGANIZED PRESBYTERIANISM

CAUSES OF GROWTH

The forces that led to the striking spread and increase of organized units of Presbyterianism, congregational, presbyterial, and synodical, were two in number: the rapid increase in the number of Presbyterian adherents and the division within the ranks arising over matters of doctrine and policy. With the increase in the number of Presbyterians many new congregations were established, as has already been shown. But this growth in congregations necessitated an increase in the number of presbyteries in order to serve more effectively this expansion of congregations. In the second instance the division into two distinct groups that occurred in the Synod of Philadelphia in 1741 led to the formation of two synods, of a number of additional presbyteries, and many new congregational establishments.

"Faith in the reality of God finds corporate expression through the church." [1] If any period of history substantiates such an assertion, it is this period of sixty years of growth of Presbyterian congregations in colonial Pennsylvania. The readiness with which the colonists formed congregations, dotted the countryside with meetinghouses, and trod the wilderness trails to places of worship in the face of the difficulties

[1] Hugh T. Kerr, *The Christian Mission in America,* p. 43.

and dangers that lurked on the frontier testifies to that faith in the reality of God in these people.

The sources of this numerical growth of Presbyterian adherents were three in number. The Presbyterian Church in Pennsylvania began with the immigrant settlers, and grew as a result of the Scotch-Irish immigration [2] that continued throughout the colonial era. In the second place, the family was an important and an essential unit in the growth of the Presbyterian Church. Its unitary aspect of that day had much to do with the increase in the number of Presbyterian adherents. Children were reared in the tenets of Presbyterianism, and subsequently became the support of the older congregations in which they received their religious instruction, or the co-founders with immigrants of new congregations on the frontier. Since Presbyterians did not fall short of the Scriptural admonition to "be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it," the offspring to carry on the religious tradition was abundant.[3] Thirdly, the numbers of Presbyterians were augmented by converts and proselytes. Conversion by evangelization brought within the Presbyterian fold individuals upon whom the religious life had exerted little or no influence until touched by some misfortune or soul-stirring sermon that convicted them of sin and led them to Christ. Others were added by proselyting or by transfer, to the Presbyterian Church, of those who belonged to other denominations but had no place of worship or no ministers to preach to their scattered numbers.[4]

This growth in congregations is exemplified in the development of a few pioneer communities. In 1720 two commissioners came from "A Certaine number of people lately come from Ireland having settled about the branches of Elk River" to supplicate for ministerial supplies and for the settlement of

[2] Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, I, 23; see chapter two.
[3] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, II, 5.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, 5; *American Colonial Church Records*, II, 232.

the Gospel in their midst. In June of the same year the Presbytery of New Castle consented to the formation of that people into a congregation. Although the center of this congregation, located at the head of the Elk, was in the section of land involved in the boundary controversy between the Penns and Baltimores, it became known as the Rock Church, Cecil County, Maryland.[5] But members of this congregation were so scattered along the course of the Elk and its branches that some members of the congregation were located within the present bounds of Pennsylvania. In 1726 a supplication to the Presbytery of New Castle came "from some few familys Inhabiting y^{e} North east side of Great Elk now under M^{r} Houston's Regular care" for Presbytery's concurrence in erecting a new congregation. The Reverend Joseph Houston had been minister of the Elk congregation since 1724. Although permission to set up a new congregation was not granted at the time the request was made, these people were formed into a distinct congregation after a protracted delay that necessitated an appeal to the Synod of Philadelphia. This became the New London congregation in Chester County.[6]

Along similar lines the congregations along the Octoraro arose. The first Presbyterian settlement served by the Presbytery of New Castle along the Octoraro Creek was at the very source of that creek in Sadsbury township in Chester County. Supplies were sent to these people as early as 1721. Six years later the number of Presbyterians on the west side of the Octoraro had increased to such an extent that they had enough subscribers to secure a part of the service of Adam Boyd, who was the minister of the Sadsbury, or Upper Octoraro, congregation. The people on the west side of the Octoraro formed into the Middle Octoraro congregation. Before the close of this decade the people near the mouth of the Octoraro obtained supplies from the Presbytery of New Cas-

[5] *Jour. of Presby. Hist. Soc.*, XV, 109.
[6] Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, I, 106, 124–125.

tle, and appear on the records as the people of Lower Octoraro, or the Mouth of Octoraro.[7]

West of the Susquehanna River, congregations arose under the impetus of immigration, westward expansion, and the increase in the size of families. Regions that once held the members of one congregation soon became sufficiently populated with Presbyterians to contain two or more congregations. This rapid growth became more pronounced at the return of peace following the colonial struggles with the French and Indians.

As the regions west of the Susquehanna became more fully populated, the need for determining the location of new meetinghouses and the bounds of new congregations led the Presbytery of Donegal to send out committees to decide these matters in conjunction with the people of those districts. Such a committee, consisting of George Duffield and Robert Cooper, ministers, and Colonel John Armstrong, John McKnight, and Thomas Wilson, elders, was sent to hear the report of commissioners from three parts of a congregation in a valley in the vicinity of Juniata River and Sherman Creek. It was found that a valley about thirty-six miles in length contained 126 persons who would subscribe to the support of a minister. The committee advised meetinghouses to be located at three points within this valley.[8] In time all three of these meetinghouses became the centers of worship for three distinct congregations. By natural expansion many other congregations arose in a manner similar to the examples cited above.

The other factor that led to the formation of new societies in a manner other than by the natural course is to be found in the controversies that arose within the ranks of established congregations. This divisive influence in some cases was personal; and in other instances, doctrinal; and became most apparent when the breach occurred within the ranks of the Synod of Philadelphia in 1741. But before this period of con-

[7] Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, I, 42, 90, 118, 120, 123.
[8] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, II, 186–208.

troversy between the New Side and Old Side the formation of factions within congregations led to divisions and to the establishment of new religious societies. A division arose within the congregation of Middle Octoraro because of ill-feeling within its membership. Although the real cause of this rift is not clearly stated in the records, a request for dismissal from that congregation was submitted to the Presbytery of Donegal from a group of that congregation in order to join with neighboring congregations "as may be most convenient & agreable to y^{m} [them]; yet so as y^{t} [that] if by y^{e} goodness of God, y^{e} present unhappy divisions & alienaõn [alienation] of affections between y^{m} & the other party, shall be removed, this shall be no hindrance whey [why] these supplicants should not again recoalesce wth [with] y^{e} remaining part of y^{e} Cong^{n} [congregation], when they shall find y^{t} they may or can cordially do it. . . ." Presbytery, after exhorting the people to study Christian self-denial and "forgiving temper" in order to restore peace, granted the request in the hope that it would work to the glory of God and to the edification of their own and other souls.[9] Occasionally difference of opinion within a congregation over the choice of a minister was responsible for the withdrawal of a group that set up a new society or joined with a neighboring congregation.

When the Great Awakening burst forth, after an apparent religious apathy, in Pennsylvania, separations within congregations resulted in the formation of quite a number of new religious societies. During this period either a majority or a minority within a split congregation supported the minister in his stand either with the New Side element that was vigorously revivalistic, or with the Old Side faction that objected to the methods of the other group and to the emotional outbreaks characteristic of many of their meetings. The more powerful group usually remained in charge of the meeting-house while the other withdrew to another place of worship.

[9] *Ibid.*, I, 11.

Meetinghouses were built with little regard for the plan of the presbyteries to have the new buildings at distances that would not endanger the existence of the old congregations. Individual congregations, rent asunder in this manner, suffered in that the respective groups of the division in a number of instances were so small that they had difficulty in raising sufficient funds to support regular ministerial supplies; but in turn there was a revitalization in the religious life of numerous communities.

The intensity of the controversy reached such a stage in the Great Valley Presbyterian Church in the early 'forties that the Old Side in the ascendancy in this region locked the doors of the meetinghouse on a Sabbath morning, when the congregation had convened, against the Reverend John Rowland, their pastor, who was a supporter of the New Side movement. This shepherd against whom some of the sheep had shut the door preached in private houses and in the fields until a meetinghouse had been built by his adherents in Charlestown township about five miles from his former charge.[10] Another instance, typical of the way in which congregations were divided, is to be found in the situation of the Paxtang and Derry congregations. When the Great Awakening reached these frontier regions of Pennsylvania Presbyterianism, John Elder, pastor of the Paxtang congregation, was accused of preaching false doctrine. After the Presbytery of Donegal cleared him of the charge in 1740, a separation took place within his congregation. His support at Paxtang was so reduced that he withdrew, and took charge of the Old Side party of the Derry congregation. The combined New Side elements of the Paxtang and Derry congregations obtained John Roan as their settled pastor who continued to serve them until his death, when the two congregations united in receiving Elder as their minister.[11]

[10] From an account of H. Davies, written in 1742, and quoted by John Faris in *Old Churches and Meeting Houses in and Around Philadelphia*, p. 134.

[11] R. Webster, *op. cit.*, pp. 454–455.

As has already been indicated, the Second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, formed during the Great Awakening, had called Gilbert Tennent to be their minister in 1744. Although he acted as leader in this movement that divided congregations, he sensed the danger in the violence that characterized some phases of the movement and lamented the "late Method of setting up *separate Meetings*." [12] As a matter of fact the divisions placed the cause of Presbyterianism in an unfavorable light in the eyes of other denominations, as the following excerpt reveals:

> The Presbyterians were a laughing stock for many years to all other denominations on account of the divisions among them by Whitefield, till experience taught them the necessity of making a coalition of all parties in order to strengthen the whole. I am afraid they will have it now in their power to turn the tables upon us, by this fatal step of the Philadelphia clergy.[13]

This comment by a member of the Church of England in 1763 came as a result of the union of the Synod of New York and the Synod of Philadelphia in 1758 after the intensity of the controversy had subsided. Following this move on the part of the synods as well as the presbyteries, congregations that had become divided united their forces. Although protracted aspects of the controversy appeared at various times throughout the colonial period,[14] the tendency to divide congregations did not persist in the same degree after the union of the synods in 1758.

THE ADDITION OF NEW PRESBYTERIES

The growth of organized Presbyterianism in the higher judicatures is a story that has been frequently and effectively

[12] "Extract of a Letter of Mr. Gilbert Tennent to the Rev. Mr. Dickinson of the Jerseys" in *Pennsylvania Gazette,* Aug. 12, 1742.

[13] Letter of Hugh Neill, Oxford, Oct. 17, 1763, in *American Colonial Church Records,* II, 354–355.

[14] *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* pp. 286 ff.; R. Webster, *op. cit.,* pp. 271–294; Letter of George Duffield, April 20, 1759 in Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, II, 30–31.

told. Although no attempt will be made to set forth a comprehensive account of that growth, a summary is needful because of its bearing upon the spread of Presbyterian societies in Pennsylvania and because Philadelphia served as the active center of organized Presbyterianism, first of all in the Presbytery at Philadelphia from 1706 to 1716, then in the Synod of Philadelphia from 1717 to 1758, and finally in the Synod of New York and Philadelphia from 1758 to 1788. That organized Presbyterianism was essential to this growth and served needs that would have otherwise been neglected becomes apparent as the expansion proceeded throughout the colony. The inherent yearning for the Gospel message that prompted the frontier settlers to appeal to the presbyteries for ministers of the Word opened the way for presbyterial and synodical control and for the creation of new presbyteries as the number of Presbyterian settlements increased. Furthermore the Great Awakening with its divisive tendency led to the formation of new presbyteries.

A significant step in organized Presbyterianism took place in the formation of the Presbytery in the commonly accepted year of 1706 in Philadelphia. At that time one minister alone, in the person of Jedidiah Andrews, was active in ministerial work in Pennsylvania proper. During the course of the ten years that followed, the number of ministers in the Presbytery increased from seven to seventeen. Consequently another important step in the organization of higher judicatures took place, as is indicated in the following excerpt:

> It having pleased Divine Providence so to increase our number, as that, after much deliberation, we judge it may be more serviceable to the interest of religion, to divide ourselves into subordinate meetings or Presbyteries, constituting one annually as a synod, to meet at Philadelphia or elsewhere, to consist of all the members of each subordinate Presbytery or meeting for this year at least: Therefore it is agreed by the Presbytery, after serious deliberation, that the first subordinate meeting or Presbytery, to meet at Philadelphia or elsewhere, as they

shall see fit, do consist of these following members, viz: Masters Andrews, Jones, Powell, Orr, Bradner, and Morgan. And the second to meet at New Castle or elsewhere, as they shall see fit, to consist of those, viz: Masters Anderson, McGill, Gillespie, Wotherspoon, Evans, and Conn. The third to meet at Snow Hill or elsewhere, to consist of these, viz: Masters Davis, Hampton, and Henry. And in consideration that only our brethren Mr. McNish and Mr. Pumry, are of our number upon Long-Island at present, we earnestly recommend it to them to use their best endeavours with the neighbouring brethren that are settled there, which as yet join not with us, to join with them in erecting a fourth Presbytery. And as to the time of the meeting of the respective Presbyteries, it is ordered that that be left to their own discretion.[15]

Since the Presbytery of Snow Hill did not materialize, the other three presbyteries combined to form the Synod of Philadelphia, the first meeting of which was held in Philadelphia in September 1717. Organized Presbyterianism was now ready to handle more effectively and efficiently the demands and appeals of the congregations for ministerial supplies. Shortly after the establishment of these additional presbyteries, the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian migration to Pennsylvania supplied the numbers that were necessary for the spread of Presbyterianism in Pennsylvania.

Although geographical bounds were established for the presbyteries, the boundaries of provinces did not determine their limits. The ministers designated as members of the Presbytery of Philadelphia preached to Presbyterian congregations in Philadelphia, Great Valley, Bensalem, Norriton, Providence, Newtown, Tinicum, Abington, and Neshaminy in Pennsylvania, and in Cohansey, Freehold, Maidenhead, Hopewell, and Cape May in New Jersey.[16] Likewise the services of the ministers of the Presbytery of New Castle were not restricted to the three lower counties in the present state of

[15] *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* pp. 45–46.

[16] "Presbyteries Organized in Philadelphia" in the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society,* VIII, 90.

Delaware, but extended beyond those limits into the southeastern part of Pennsylvania [17] and into sections of Maryland and Virginia.

The influx of the immigrants into the outlying regions of Chester County necessitated the formation of Lancaster County in 1729. This same group of settlers were responsible for the spread of Presbyterian interests to such a degree that in 1732 the Presbytery of Donegal was established. At the time of its formation this Presbytery included within its membership James Anderson of Donegal, John Thomson who removed from Middle Octoraro to Chestnut Level in 1732, Adam Boyd of Upper Octoraro, William Orr of Lower Octoraro or Nottingham, and William Bertram of Derry and Paxtang.[18] Those Presbyterian communities that had no settled minister were supplied from time to time by the aforesaid ministers and by licentiates and ministers from other presbyteries. This Presbytery of Donegal was more exclusively a presbytery within Pennsylvania than any other presbytery that exercised control in the province, since the settlements which it served were located within the colony with some few exceptions.

Before the intensity of divisional strife reached a climax, other presbyteries were organized as a means of providing supplies more conveniently to those new settlements that were arising from the rapid expansion of Presbyterians. Although these new presbyteries influenced conditions in the colony, the extent of their jurisdiction in Pennsylvania was seldom so widespread that they controlled many congregations prior to the controversy that led to the formation of the Synod of New York in 1745. In 1733 the Presbytery of East Jersey was formed from the Presbytery of Philadelphia.[19] In 1738 "some members of the Presbytery of New York" (established at this

[17] Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, I, 104, 106, 109, 112, 118, 121, 154, 164, 174.

[18] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 102.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 106; Minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, III, 1.

meeting of the Synod of Philadelphia by the union of the presbyteries of Long Island and East Jersey) [20] were erected into a "distinct Presbytery with some of the Presbytery of Philadelphia," [21] and named the Presbytery of New Brunswick. Thirteen years later the Presbytery of Abington was established by an act of the Synod of New York in 1751, which placed "that part of the Presbytery of New Brunswick that live in Pennsylvania, together with those who live in New Jersey, to the southward of Philadelphia, bordering upon Delaware, into a distinct Presbytery. . . ." [22]

During the remaining twenty-five years of Pennsylvania colonial history three more presbyteries were established within its bounds. Divisional factors played a very important part in the formation of these three even after the union of the synods of New York and Philadelphia in 1758; for not all of the ministers could fall in with the plan of union within certain presbyteries. Consequently the Second Presbytery of Philadelphia was formed in 1762 from the Presbytery of Philadelphia.[23] From the troubles that continued to agitate the ranks of the Presbytery of Donegal there arose a movement to divide that Presbytery into two judicatories in 1764.[24] That the step towards a realignment of the members of the Presbytery of Donegal was a settled matter appears in the minutes of the May meeting of that body in 1765 in the following words: "Here endeth the Book of the Records of Donnegal Pb^{yr} the venerable aged Matron having expired in an apoplectic fit before the next apointed Time of the Meeting of her Sons. Vie! Vie! Vie!" [25] In the same month the Synod of New York and Philadelphia agreed that the members of the Presbytery of Donegal west of the Susquehanna River

[20] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 136.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 138.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 246.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 321; Minutes of the Second Presbytery of Philadelphia, p. 1.
[24] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, II, 118.
[25] *Ibid.*, II, 153.

along with Andrew Bay, minister at Deer Creek (Churchville), Maryland, should be formed into a presbytery to be known as the Presbytery of Carlisle. The other members of the defunct Presbytery were joined with the Presbytery of New Castle to form one presbytery that was to be called the Lancaster Presbytery.[26]

But this arrangement of the presbyteries did not last very long. In 1766 both Donegal and New Castle presbyteries were restored. An expunged minute of the Presbytery of Carlisle reveals the fate of that Presbytery after an existence of a year.

> Here endeth the Book of records of Carlisle Presbytery which was born the 22^{d} of May 1765 arrived to the vigorous exercise of rational powers the day following, continued in perfect health, leading a quiet, peaceable, inoffensive and yet active life, until May 28th 1766, at which time a design was formed against her, and the next day put in execution, when she peaceably expired without complaint or groan—Of her may be said, she was born without original sin, lived without allowed actual transgression, and died without presbyterial guilt.[27]

In response to an overture that requested the restoration of Donegal Presbytery the Synod "agreed to this overture, and accordingly we revive and restore the late Presbytery of Donegall." [28] The Presbytery of New Castle was restored at the same time.

THE TREND TOWARDS CONFORMITY

The formation of presbyteries up to and including the establishment of the Presbytery of Donegal was to facilitate the preaching of the Gospel and to provide means of united action for the strengthening of the Presbyterian forces in America. Thereafter other forces, responsible for the forma-

[26] *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* pp. 348, 349–350; Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, III, 113; Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, II, 154.

[27] The Minutes of the Presbytery of Carlisle in Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, II, 180.

[28] *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* p. 359.

tion of new presbyteries and synods, began to take definite shape. Issues began to appear within the organized groups in such strength that definite programs were initiated in the hope of securing conformity. Throughout this growing period Presbyterianism had been sufficiently flexible to develop naturally within its new environment.[29] The time had arrived, according to the belief of some, when a definite plan and program in the interests of uniformity should be instituted.

A step that sounded the warning note to some appeared in the Synod of Philadelphia in 1721 when the following overture was presented:

> As we have been for many years in the exercise of the Presbyterian government and Church discipline, as exercised by the Presbyterians in the best reformed Churches, as far as the nature and constitution of this country will allow, our opinion is, that if any brother have any overture to offer to be formed into an act by the Synod, for the better carrying on in the matter of our government and discipline that he may bring it in against next Synod.[30]

Although this overture was carried by a majority vote, six of the members had their protestation entered upon the minutes of the Synod. The following year this protest was withdrawn upon the presentation of a paper containing four articles bearing upon this question. The dissenting opinion was expressed in the following phraseology:

> 1. We freely grant, that there is full executive power of church government in Presbyteries and Synods, and that they may authoritatively, in the name of Christ, use the keys of church discipline to all proper intents and purposes, and that the keys of the church are committed to the church officers and them only.
>
> 2. We also grant, that the mere circumstantials of church discipline such as the time, place, and mode, of carrying on in the government of the church, belong to ecclesiastical judicatories to determine as occasions occur, conformable to the general rules in the word

[29] Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 208.
[30] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 68.

of God, that require all things to be done decently and in order. And if these things are called *acts*, we will take no offence at the word, provided that these acts be not imposed upon such as conscientiously dissent from them.

3. We also grant, that Synods may compose directories, and recommend them to all their members, respecting all the parts of discipline, provided that all subordinate judicatories may decline from such directories when they conscientiously think they have just reason to do so.

4. We freely allow that appeals may be made from all inferior to superior judicatories, and that superior judicatories have authority to consider and determine such appeals.[31]

These articles, signed by Malachi Jones, Joseph Morgan, Jonathan Dickinson, and David Evans, were accepted by the Synod as a happy solution to the difference that had arisen. The warning note, however, towards conformity had been sounded.

The appearance of certain movements in the Old and in the New World promoted this tendency towards uniformity within the ranks of the Presbyterian Church. Deism and anti-Trinitarianism were making inroads upon the Presbyterian churches in England, Scotland, and Ireland during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Furthermore a laxity in subscribing to the Westminster Confession of Faith had become so prevalent that the Synod of Ulster in 1726 objected to the non-subscribers, and refused to continue in ministerial fellowship with them. The non-subscribers, therefore, withdrew and formed themselves into the Presbytery of Antrim.[32] In the colonies a number of Presbyterian ministers deplored the absence of subscription to the Westminster Confession of Faith, and agitated for its acceptance in the interest of uniformity. It had been the custom to receive Presbyterian ministers from abroad and elsewhere in the colonies upon the

[31] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, pp. 73–74.

[32] F. W. Loetscher, "The Adopting Act" in *Journal of the Department of History of the Presbyterian Church in U. S. A.*, XIII, 338–339.

testimonials of the churches or presbyteries from which these men came. The liberalizing influences, however, prompted some members of the stricter sort to move for subscription to the Westminster Confession of Faith from both candidates and ministers who were admitted to the presbyteries. One of the first presbyteries to put such a plan into effect was the Presbytery of New Castle, when in 1724 it admitted William McMillan upon his accepting "the Westminster Confession of faith as the Confession of my Faith." [33]

From the Presbytery of New Castle this demand for subscription was carried to the Synod of Philadelphia. In 1727, John Thomson, of Lewes, Delaware, submitted an overture to the Synod with the recommendation that the Westminster standards be adopted, and that subscription, or a similar acknowledgment thereof, be required of all candidates for the ministry and of all entrants from other communions.[34] The Synod, however, did not consider the matter at this time. Not discouraged by the failure of the Synod to take action on this matter, the Presbytery of New Castle in the following year unanimously agreed to present to the Synod a similar overture "containing an expedient to prevent Error." [35] But it was not until 1729 that the Synod took up the matter, and "to take care that the faith once delivered to the saints be kept pure and uncorrupt among us, and so handed down to our posterity" agreed

> . . . that all the ministers of this Synod, or that shall hereafter be admitted into this Synod, shall declare their agreement in, and approbation of, the Confession of Faith, with the Larger and Shorter Catechisms of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, as being in all the essential and necessary articles, good forms of sound words and systems of Christian doctrine, and do also adopt the said Confession and Catechisms as the confession of our faith.

[33] Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, I. (Back of book.)
[34] Loetscher, *op. cit.*, XIII, 339; Briggs, *op. cit.*, 210.
[35] Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, I, 137.

All the presbyteries within the bounds of the Synod's jurisdiction were directed to admit no candidate for the ministry unless he declared "his agreement in opinion with all the essential and necessary articles of said Confession" either by subscription thereto or by a verbal declaration of assent thereto. Scruples against unreserved subscription were allowed if they were not contradictory to the articles that were considered "essential and necessary in doctrine, worship, or government." But the Synod or the presbyteries could exclude those who had scruples against subscription to the essential and necessary articles of faith. The Synod's decision in regard to the Directory for worship, discipline, and government of the church favored its observance "as near as circumstances will allow, and Christian prudence direct." [36] By this Adopting Act the Westminster Confession of Faith, the Catechisms, and the Directory were accepted as the basis for a program of uniformity.

Although the highest expression of Presbyterianism was planted in American soil by this action of the Synod, voices were raised against mere conformity to established forms. In 1734 Gilbert Tennent introduced some overtures which proposed that candidates for the ministry and for the Lord's Supper were to submit to inquiries "into the evidences of the grace of God in them, as well as of their other necessary qualifications." [37] It was suggested that all candidates should be diligently examined for evidences of an "experience of a work of sanctifying grace in their hearts." The Synod adopted these suggestions, and admonished all ministers "to make it their awful, constant, and diligent care to approve themselves to God, to their own consciences, and to their hearers, serious, faithful stewards of the mysteries of God, and of holy and exemplary conversations." This self-examination among the ministers was followed by the exercise of care in the examina-

[36] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, pp. 94–95.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 110.

tion of those who were to be admitted to the Lord's Supper. In order to carry out the program of conformity to the adopted standards, the presbyteries were advised to examine frequently into the life, conversation, diligence in work, and the methods of performing ministerial work among their members. Also a yearly inquiry into the minister's preaching was directed to find out whether or not each insisted upon "the great articles of Christianity, and in the course of his preaching recommend a crucified Saviour to his hearers as the only foundation of hope and the absolute necessity of the omnipotent influences of the Divine grace to enable them to accept of this Saviour." [38]

Within the next decade occasions which tested this program for conformity arose. Samuel Hemphill, having been admitted to the Synod of Philadelphia in 1734 after he had subscribed to the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Catechisms, became the center of a controversy. He was invited to assist Jedidiah Andrews, minister of the Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia. Andrews, in commenting upon the matter, stated:

> Some desiring that I should have assistance,—and some leading men not disaffected to that way of Deism, as they should be,—that man was imposed on me and the congregation. Most of the best of the people were soon so dissatisfied that they would not come to meeting. Freethinkers, deists, and nothings, getting a scout of him, flocked to hear. I attended all winter, but, making complaint, brought the ministers together, who acted as is shown in the books I send you.[39]

Even the astute Benjamin Franklin, weary of the emphasis which Andrews placed upon doctrine, came to the support of Hemphill by preparing pamphlets in his defense and devoting several columns in the newspapers in the interest of this case. A commission of the Synod, chosen to investigate Hemp-

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 111.

[39] Quoted by Webster, *History of the Presbyterian Church in America*, p. 417.

hill's case, found him guilty of preaching subversive doctrines and of plagiarizing, and recommended his suspension from his ministerial office. In the Synod of 1735 the findings of the commission were sustained; and the Synod "from the consideration of his contumacy in his errors, his disregard of the censure of the commission, and rejecting our communion, do declare him unqualified for any future exercise of his ministry within our bounds, and that this be intimated to all our congregations by such respective ministers." [40] Richard Webster closed his account of Hemphill by stating: "His plagiarism overwhelmed him: he slunk away into deserved obscurity."

The experience of the Synod with this heretical offender prompted the adoption of certain safeguards against the recurrence of a similar disturbance. Such a course meant a closer supervision and investigation of candidates by both the presbyteries and the Synod. Since it was expected that most of the ministers for supplying vacancies would come from the north of Ireland as Samuel Hemphill had, the Synod directed:

> That no minister or probationer coming in among us from Europe, be allowed to preach in vacant congregations until first his credentials and recommendations be seen and approven by the Presbytery unto which such congregation doth most properly belong, and until he preach with approbation before said Presbytery, and subscribe or adopt the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms, before said Presbytery. . . .

Such a newcomer was not to be employed by a minister to assist until his case had been investigated, nor was he to be called by a congregation "until he have preached at least one full half year within the bounds of this Synod." Furthermore a congregation was not to present a call to any minister or candidate unless there were members of the presbytery to which the congregation belonged present to "concur with them and

[40] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 117.

moderate in said call"; nor was a student to enter upon his trials to obtain a license to preach until the ministers of the presbytery to which he offered himself had "an opportunity to take a view of his parts and behaviour." Finally the Synod directed that a letter should be sent to the General Synod of Ireland with its declaration

> . . . against the late too common, and now altogether unnecessary practice of some Presbyteries in the north of Ireland, viz: their ordaining men to the ministry *sine titulo*, immediately before they come over hither, thereby depriving us of our just rights, viz: that we unto whom they are designed to be co-presbyters, and among whom they design to bestow their labours, should have just and fair inspecting into their qualifications.

The continuation of the practice of ordaining ministers in this manner in Ireland before their departure for America "will be very disagreeable and disobliging to us," was the decision embodied in this communication to the General Synod of Ireland.[41] Such a declaration of their rights as Presbyterians, even though they were in colonial America, in 1735 was a forerunner to the declarations by the colonists at a later date against the practices of the mother country to restrict their rights even though they were English citizens.

In the execution of the plan of control over incoming ministers and probationers certain obstacles appeared from the very beginning. The Presbytery of East Jersey reported that compliance to this order was difficult because several of their members did not attend the stated meetings of the Presbytery and in addition preached to congregations that were not under their charge. Likewise certain members of the Synod, fearing centralization of authority in the Synod at the expense of the presbyteries, did not feel obligated to comply with such a program of conformity. Within the ranks of these dissenters were to be found the seeds of disunion in the seventeen-forties.

[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 118–119.

The Presbytery of New Brunswick, formed of members from the Presbytery of New York and from the Presbytery of Philadelphia in 1738, became the center of the revivalistic movement which found its staunchest adherents in the Tennents, both father and sons, and in those ministers and laymen who were motivated by a zeal to remove what appeared to them to be stultifying orthodoxy, lack of genuine piety, and an unconverted ministry.[42] As this revivalistic movement developed within the ranks of Presbyterians, it assumed aspects that were decidedly opposed to the program of conformity within the Presbyterian Church.

THE GREAT AWAKENING IN PENNSYLVANIA

This struggle for "a godly ministry" at a time when the influences of the Great Awakening were taking form in the Middle Colonies became so far-reaching and intensive that its results were felt in varying degrees throughout the remaining years of the colonial era. The Presbyterians of Pennsylvania were kept in turmoil as a result of the intensity of this struggle. The schism that resulted did not hinge so much around the question of doctrine, for both sides adhered zealously to the Westminster Confession of Faith, but rather around certain principles, practices, and methods. One authority has summarized the many-sidedness of the movement between the evangelistic and conservative groups as follows:

> The one sought for essential orthodoxy; the other insisted on exact conformity to fixed standards. The one left the individual considerable latitude for self-direction when his conscience bade him protest against administrative measures of the majority; the other held him to strict accountability to what it considered the laws of the church. The one emphasized piety as the first essential in a gospel ministry and sought for evidence of conversion and an inner call to the ministry; the other declared that it was a matter of conscience with conservatives not to institute such proceedings. A majority of New Englanders and a

[42] Briggs, *American Presbyterianism*, p. 242.

minority of the Scotch-Irish were members of the evangelical [evangelistic] party. With few exceptions the leaders of both parties, New Sides and Old Sides, were sincerely devoted to truth as they saw it.[43]

The tangible matters over which the controversy developed involved standards of scholarship, methods in revivals, and the maintenance of church government.[44]

The group that formed the Old Side Party, being made up largely of Scotch-Irish ministers who had received their education abroad and who favored the maintenance of high standards of scholarship for the ministry, sought to obtain an educated ministry by synodical control in view of the limited educational facilities in the Middle Colonies. The course which they adopted in order to realize their goal, however, was of such a character that it was bound to react on an endeavor of William Tennent to provide educational facilities within Pennsylvania for young men who planned to enter the ministry. Aware of the lack of suitable means for preparing young men for the ministry, William Tennent established an institution, known as the Log College, along the Little Neshaminy Creek in Bucks County. Although as a college this institution was decidedly limited in the scope of its activities, it takes rank as the first Presbyterian college in the American colonies. Those ministers, however, who had been educated in the more flourishing institutions of the mother country and of New England looked with suspicion upon an upstart such as the Log College, in spite of the fact that it had been preparing young men for the ministry for almost a decade under the inspiring tutelage of William Tennent.

Presented by the aggressive element of the Presbytery of Lewes in 1738, a proposal bearing upon the preparation of candidates for the ministry passed the Synod by a large majority vote. By this act "every student who has not studied

[43] C. H. Maxson, *The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies*, p. 25.

[44] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, pp. 141 ff.; Clark, *History of Westminster Presbytery*, pp. 13–14.

with approbation, passing the usual courses in some of the New England, or European colleges, approved by public authority" should apply to the Synod for an examination, by a committee of the Synod, in philosophy, divinity, and the languages before any presbytery encourage him for the ministry. A testimonial of accomplishment in these fields of study was to serve in place of a college degree.[45] In the following year objections to this act found expression in the Synod from some members of the Presbytery of New Brunswick who had been educated at the Log College, and resulted in the modification of the previous act. This substitute act which did not eliminate the need for an examination by those who had no diploma from an European or New England college did not remove the cause of grievance for some members, although the measure passed by "a great majority." William Tennent, Gilbert Tennent, William Tennent, Jr., Charles Tennent, Samuel Blair, Eleazer Wales, ministers, and four elders protested against the act because they regarded it as a slight upon the endeavors of the Log College. The work of the Log College was likewise belittled by the Synod, in the opinion of the protesters, when that body passed an overture to erect a school, or a seminary of learning, and chose a commission to take the matter in hand.[46]

An occasion for judgment against the nonconformists arose within the Presbytery of New Brunswick before the lapse of a year from the time of its establishment. This Presbytery admitted to trials and licensed to preach a certain John Rowland, who had studied at the Log College, before he had taken the preparatory examination that had been declared necessary by the Synod of Philadelphia. When the Synod took this matter into consideration at its meeting in 1739, it judged this action of the Presbytery of New Brunswick as disorderly, warned against such a divisive course in the fu-

[45] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, pp. 141–142.
[46] *Ibid.*, p. 149.

ture, and decided not to admit John Rowland as a preacher of the Gospel within the bounds of the Synod before he submitted to such an examination.[47] Undaunted by such a judgment, John Rowland continued to preach under the direction of the Presbytery of New Brunswick.

Coupled with this problem of maintaining certain standards for an educated ministry in this period was the revivalistic movement of this generation. Although George Whitefield was responsible for an active religious awakening in the Middle Colonies in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, a considerable amount of the preliminary work had been done by some local preachers, among whom were a number of Presbyterian ministers. Gilbert Tennent, the oldest son of William Tennent of Log College fame, began a revival movement in New Jersey that "was essentially an original movement" and not merely an expansion of the revival among the Dutch Reformed under Theodorus J. Frelinghuysen in the valley of the Raritan. Under such leaders of revivalism as Gilbert Tennent, John Cross, and Samuel Blair, militant evangelism became a movement largely supported by graduates of the Log College where their training had been sufficiently effective to produce men of note in the ministry and in the field of education.[48]

A field was not lacking for the labors of a group of energetic revivalists. Neglect in the performance of religious practices had stealthily crept into the midst of those congregations that were inadequately supplied with preachers. As early as 1733 the Synod of Philadelphia admonished its members to exercise "particular care about ministerial visiting of families, and press family and secret worship according to the Westminster Directory." In the following year the Synod directed its members to put forth renewed efforts for the careful examination of those who were to be admitted to the Lord's Supper by em-

[47] *Ibid.*, pp. 147–148.
[48] Maxson, *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 34.

phasizing the salvation of sinners through the grace of God in a crucified Saviour and by catechizing and instructing the young people and children.[49] The press and itinerant preaching were already being employed by the evangelistic group as a means of spreading the message of regeneration.

The zeal of the revivalists for winning sinners to Christ impelled some of them to engage actively in itinerant preaching wherever they felt the need for the message of salvation existed. Consequently encroachments within the parishes of other ministers occurred. Complaints against these encroachments were brought before the Synod of Philadelphia in 1738, and an overture was adopted with the provision that

> . . . no minister belonging to this Synod shall have liberty to preach in any congregation belonging to another Presbytery whereof he is not a member, after he is advised by any minister of such Presbytery, that he thinks his preaching in that congregation will have a tendency to procure divisions and disorders, until he first obtain liberty from the Presbytery or Synod so to do.[50]

In a review of the aforesaid overture a further pronouncement was made to the effect that, if any minister within any of the presbyteries regarded the preaching of a minister or a candidate of an adjoining presbytery instrumental in promoting division in that congregation or detrimental to "the orderly settlement of a gospel ministry," a complaint should be made to the presbytery in which that congregation was located, and the offending person should be subject to the determination of the presbytery or of the Synod as to whether or not he should be permitted to continue his preaching within the bounds of that congregation. The Synod, "finding that some of our brethren are now dissatisfied with that agreement, and that it is wrong interpreted and misunderstood by many of our people, as though it was calculated to prevent itinerant preaching," repealed the overture of the previous year at its meeting

[49] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, pp. 105, 111.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 138.

in 1740, but still asserted its right to determine the qualifications needful for the admission of candidates to the ministry within its bounds.[51] In this constitutional conflict within Presbyterian ranks it so happened that the nonconformists were the active supporters of revivals. Consequently this movement assumed a deeply religious aspect which was further developed by the coming of George Whitefield.

WHITEFIELD IN PENNSYLVANIA

Impetus was given to the revivalistic activities with the coming of the great English evangelist to Pennsylvania in 1739 at a time when the issues among Presbyterian ministers were paving the way to division within the ranks. As has already been indicated, a major issue involved the matter of placing more authority in the hands of the highest judicature, the Synod, or of allowing presbyteries to determine their own policies without interference from a higher court. It so happened that the exponents of presbyterial liberty consisted of the evangelistic group who were strongly entrenched in the Presbytery of New Brunswick and who became actively associated with George Whitefield. This interest was reciprocal, for Whitefield expressed a deep admiration for William Tennent and the product of his labors that found expression in the active ministry of the young men who had been under his tutelage, and a number of the evangelical leaders in Pennsylvania were responsive to the impelling character of Whitefield. James Campbell, who had been preaching at Newtown and Tohicken in Pennsylvania, reached a decision, in 1739, that he would not continue in the ministry because of the conviction that he was living in sin and had not known Jesus Christ experimentally. But Whitefield, believing that such humiliations would lead to great services for Christ, induced Campbell to resume preaching. The latter did so with encouraging results. Richard Treat, who had been preaching to the Presbyterians

[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 147, 154.

at Abington, was so affected by Whitefield's preaching that he considered himself "a stranger to grace." Whitefield, however, expressed his belief that the Lord was "preparing him for great services." [52] Men won to the evangelistic cause in this manner threw their support with the New Brunswick group.

During this period Whitefield continued his labors with amazing results. Although he was characterized as enthusiastically mad by Archibald Cumming of the Anglican Church, this same critic stated that his people were so anxious to hear Whitefield that he had to open his pulpit to him. And so impelling were the efforts of Whitefield to spread the Gospel message of salvation that he preached "every evening in our streets to vast Multitudes of all Sects." [53] Streets, neighboring commons and fields, and even the Court House steps were used as sites for holding religious meetings when church buildings were not available. So impelling was this movement that upon Whitefield's return to Philadelphia in 1740 a building, one hundred feet by seventy feet, was available for services. Although a roof had not been constructed by November of that year, the floor had been laid and a pulpit erected for the conducting of services.[54] Under such circumstances his active ministry was carried on.

That his influence was responsible in bringing men to nobler and more righteous living through the message of salvation in Christ Jesus is attested by the leaders of thought of that day. All classes came to hear him, and even the youth, James Pemberton attested, were "very constant in attendance and much pleased." [55] James Logan testified to the fact that many dissolute people were reclaimed, but expressed a fear that con-

[52] Maxson, *op. cit.*, p. 51; Webster, *op. cit.*, pp. 408, 530.

[53] Letter of Archibald Cumming to Rev. Dr. Bearcroft, Philadelphia, November 14, 1739, among the manuscripts of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the Library of Congress Transcripts, B 7, Pt. II, p. 233.

[54] George Whitefield, *Journal*, p. 15.

[55] E. R. Beadle, *The Old and the New*, p. 17.

fusion and despair would result because Whitefield had countenanced "the most hot-headed predestinarians . . . to the great prejudice of the cause of virtue and solid religion; his doctrine turning on the danger of good works without such a degree of sanctifying faith as comes up to his gauge." Franklin asserted that the inhabitants were growing so religious "that one could not walk through the town in an evening without hearing psalms sung in different families in every street." [56]

The preaching of George Whitefield and other ministers like the Tennents (especially Gilbert), James Davenport, John Rowland, Samuel Blair, and others, was so forceful and effective that the life of many communities was changed. Philadelphia, the center of this movement, had its life strikingly altered.

> The Alteration in the Face of Religion here is altogether surprising. Never did the People show so great a Willingness to attend Sermons, nor the Preachers greater Zeal and Diligence in performing the Duties of their Function. Religion is become the Subject of most Conversations. No Books are in Request but those of Piety and Devotion; and instead of idle Songs and Ballads, the People are every where entertaining themselves with Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs. All which, under God, is owing to the successful Labours of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield.[57]

The effect of his preaching led to the closing of "the Dancing School, Assembly and Concert Room . . . as inconsistent with the Doctrine of the Gospel." [58] In like manner the life of smaller communities awakened to the exhortations for righteous living so that evident improvement in behavior resulted, the Bible and "excellent books" were read, and weighty conversations were religious in character.[59]

[56] *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 19.
[57] *Pennsylvania Gazette,* June 12, 1740.
[58] *Ibid.,* May 1, 1740.
[59] P. G. Mode, ed., *Source Book and Bibliographical Guide for American Church History,* pp. 217–219.

In the subsequent months the interest in religious matters did not abate, but expressed itself in various ways. The movement had caught the public mind to such an extent that the course of Whitefield's journeys appeared from time to time in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. Furthermore the demands for evangelistic sermons were so prevalent that the Reverend Gilbert Tennent, who carried on the work of Whitefield in Philadelphia, preached four and five times on a Sunday. In one instance he preached to a gathering at seven o'clock in the morning on Society Hill in the vicinity of Pine Street, at ten in the Presbyterian meetinghouse, at three in the afternoon in the Baptist meetinghouse, and at seven in the evening on Society Hill.[60]

In the next two years Gilbert Tennent was particularly active in the interest of the revival and in the strengthening of the cause of Presbyterianism in Pennsylvania. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* reported in the issue of June 11, 1741, that Gilbert Tennent had preached five times on the last Sunday of May "to crowded audiences: And on the Wednesday following, he baptised, at the New Building Eight adult Persons, who had been of the People called Quakers, one, as is said, a Preacher." [61] His following grew to such an extent in the early years of the seventeen-forties that a new Presbyterian congregation was formed in Philadelphia as a result of this revival movement. Of those who united in December 1743 to organize the Second Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia many had originally been disciples of Whitefield. This group of Presbyterians became the ministerial charge of Gilbert Tennent in the following year.

A HOUSE DIVIDED

While the Great Awakening was having a decidedly wholesome effect upon the religious life of numerous Pennsylvania

[60] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 12, 1740.
[61] *Ibid.*, June 11, 1741.

communities, another significant development was taking place within the ranks of organized Presbyterianism. The increased activity of the revivalists, particularly those of the Presbytery of New Brunswick, by preaching within the bounds of other presbyteries widened the breach between the two elements that were arising as a result of constitutional differences. The gathering of Presbyterian ministers in Philadelphia for the meetings of the Synod afforded the revivalists the opportunity to preach to religious gatherings in that city. In 1740 during the five days that the commissioners to the Synod of Philadelphia were in that city, fourteen sermons were preached on Society Hill to large audiences by the Tennents, Davenport, Rowland, and Blair, besides those that were delivered at the Presbyterian and Baptist meetings.[62] The ready response to the appeals of the revivalists encouraged them to continue their preaching within the bounds of the other presbyteries, to the disquietude of those who objected to such unconstitutional methods. The revivalists believed that they were acting within their rights when they engaged in preaching within the bounds of other presbyteries. The supporters of orthodox Presbyterianism, on the other hand, believed that they were within their constitutional rights when they forbade these encroachments and set up standards for an educated ministry by synodical action. The continued encroachments of the nonconformists goaded a group of constitutionalists, consisting of twelve ministers and eight elders, to present a protest in 1741 to the Synod assembled in Philadelphia.

This protest was directed against the New Brunswick group that refused to comply with the rulings of the Synod in regard to those individuals educated privately. The twenty protesters claimed that it was "the indispensable duty" of the Synod "to maintain and stand by the principles of doctrine, worship, and government" as embodied in the Westminster Confession, Catechisms, and Directory; asserted that those who failed to

[62] *Pennsylvania Gazette,* June 12, 1740.

subscribe to them and did not obey the orders and rules of the Synod should be deprived of a seat and a vote in Synod; asserted that the nonconformists had forfeited the right to sit and vote in the Synod and that any act of that group should not be binding on the rest because of the anti-presbyterial practices; and suggested that the nonconforming group should be regarded as guilty of schism.

They justified such drastic action on the basis that (1) the dissenting members held that presbyteries and synods were simply advisory bodies whose rulings were not binding on dissenting members; (2) they licensed and ordained men to the ministry in violation of the ruling of the Synod that candidates must submit to an examination; (3) they sowed "the seeds of division among people" by their conducting services within the bounds of other congregations "without order, concurrence, or allowance of the Presbyteries or ministers to which the congregations belong"; (4) they disturbed the peace and comfort of congregations by the disparaging remarks and condemnation "of all who do not fall in with their measures, both ministers and people, as carnal, graceless, and enemies to the work of God" and by the disorderly itinerations and preachings throughout other congregations; (5) they asserted that the call of God to the ministry "does not consist in their being regularly ordained and set apart to that work, according to the institution and rules of the word," but through the workings of the Spirit known alone to the person himself, and the preaching of the Gospel by unconverted ministers "can be of no saving benefit to souls"; (6) their preaching of the terrors of the law and working "on the passions and affections of weak minds" causing "them to cry out in a hideous manner, and fall down in convulsion-like fits" was not in the interests of the work of God; (7) their claims that all true converts were certain of "their gracious state" and able to tell of the time and manner of their conversion (else they

were in a graceless state) and that a people were "under no sacred tie or relation to their own pastors lawfully called, but may leave them when they pleased" were not justified.[63]

Since these twenty protesters regarded union in a judicature with the dissenting group as incompatible, the latter, or New Side element, moved that a determination should be made as to which group was the Synod, and that the major number should be regarded as the Synod. The vote turned against the New Side group, who then withdrew from the Synod. So the adherents of Whitefield and the revival in the Presbytery of New Brunswick, accused of being anarchical because of their violations of synodical rules, severed relations with the Synod of Philadelphia. The efforts to maintain a program of conformity had rent asunder the ranks of Presbyterians. In spite of the endeavors of the members of the Presbytery of New York to have the Presbytery of New Brunswick and the other dissenting members who had joined that Presbytery in breaking away from the Synod readmitted, no satisfactory agreement could be reached. Consequently the Synod of New York, consisting of the New Side adherents of the Presbytery of New York, of the Presbytery of New Brunswick, and of the Second Presbytery of New Castle which consisted of the New Side adherents of both Donegal and New Castle presbyteries, was established in 1745.[64]

In Pennsylvania one of the chief centers of conflict was in the Presbytery of Donegal, where the Reverend Alexander Craighead of Middle Octoraro, and David Alexander of Pequea, were the storm centers because they were staunch New Siders. In spite of the fact that the Presbytery of Donegal was largely a frontier presbytery, the New Side movement found some of its staunchest opponents in that Presbytery. In

[63] *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* pp. 157–160. This summary of the protest, made by the twenty members of the Synod, has been included here because it so well presents the major factors involved in the controversy.

[64] *Ibid.,* pp. 162 ff., 232.

1741 the Presbytery of Donegal adopted by a great majority an overture, presented by the Reverend John Thomson and by Robert Porter, Robert King, and Andrew Craig, who were members of the session of the Chestnut Level congregation. This overture contained a request that the Presbytery hinder "both Min^{rs}. & people within our bounds from encouraging disorderly Min^{rs}. & preachers from intruding irregularly into our Cong^{ns} and from going to hear them &c." [65] It also called for the reception and acknowledgment of the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms by those who were to receive the sealing ordinances, and for a promise from them not to countenance or encourage the disorderly ministers.

The course pursued by presbyteries and the Synod in the interests of conformity soon made itself felt among the congregations of the Presbyterian Church. Members of congregations in Pennsylvania entered lustily into this conflict, and were rent asunder in the same manner as the Synod of Philadelphia and certain presbyteries had been. During 1741 and 1742 many new establishments were made throughout Pennsylvania by minority groups that severed connections with the old establishments. Sometimes this minority group consisted of adherents of the New Side; in other instances it was made up of adherents of the Old Side.[66] But as the heat of the conflict and the intensity of feeling was lessened by the lapse of time, the way was opened for the uniting of Presbyterian forces. As early as February 1742, Gilbert Tennent expressed regret at the extremes which had arisen in this movement. Although numerous attempts were made to bring the two synods together, it was not until 1758 that a union was effected and the subsequent remodeling of the presbyteries took place.

[65] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 216.

[66] *Ibid.*, I, 215; W. S. Perry, ed., *American Colonial Church Records*, II, 235; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 12, 1742; Charles Hodge, *Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States . . .*, Part II, 102–208; *History of the Paxtang Church*, pp. 65, 69; Webster, *op. cit.*, pp. 163, 184–185.

The Presbytery of Donegal felt the aftermath of the schism as late as 1765 and 1766. Following the union of the Synod of New York and the Synod of Philadelphia in 1758 some of the divided congregations were restored to their original status.

IX

THE REGULATION OF PRESBYTERIAN SOCIETIES BY PRESBYTERIES

Presbyteries in addition to their constructive tasks in the propagation of the Gospel by the licensing of candidates to the ministry, by the ordination and installation of ministers, by supplying vacant congregations with preaching, and by the erection of new congregations in the midst of a rapidly expanding Presbyterian society, had important functions to perform in the ordering of Presbyterian society. The presbyterial records abound with decisions handed down in cases that arose within presbyteries when ministers needed admonition and discipline, in cases that sessions could not settle because of their nature, and in cases of appeal from sessions to the higher judicatures. Consequently the presbyteries in their judicial capacity did much to maintain order in Presbyterian communities. The need for regulation of conduct by the religious authorities was decidedly more urgent among frontier communities than in those centers where civil authorities handled cases of misdemeanor. As civil authority expanded into the frontier, matters formerly handled by sessions and presbyteries were surrendered to the government officials. Sometimes the religious authorities sought to maintain their control after the civil authorities had appeared on the scene. When the Presbytery of Donegal, a frontier Presbytery, persisted in handing down decisions in matters of divorce, the Synod of

Philadelphia warned that Presbytery that such matters should be left to the civil authorities. It is with the types of cases and the judgments that were handed down by the presbyteries, and not with this transition from religious to civil authorities, that we have to deal.

THE CONTROL OVER THE MEMBERS OF PRESBYTERY

Presbyteries from the very beginning were confronted with matters involving decisions affecting their own members because of some breach of Presbyterian law. The Form of Church Government, drawn up by the Westminster divines, provided that the difficult cases of "Doctrine and Conversation" should go to the higher judicatures, especially the presbyteries. Since judgment should begin at home, it was necessary for presbyteries to see that their own members adhered to Presbyterian practices. Some of the earliest admonitions voiced by the Presbytery at Philadelphia to some of its members concerned delinquency in attending the meetings of Presbytery and in fulfilling ordered supplies to designated people.[1] The latter delinquency deprived some congregations of the Gospel ministry which congregations regarded as essential to their religious life.

Questions of doctrine arose from time to time to disturb whole communities and to divide congregations into contending groups. As the number of ministers grew, the possibility of digressing from Presbyterian teachings became more likely. As has already been indicated, certain groups, believing that the defense of doctrinal truths rested upon them, proceeded to the adoption of measures that would lessen the dangers of heresy within Presbyterian ranks. The adoption of the Westminster Confession of Faith, Catechisms, and Directory in

[1] *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* pp. 9, 14; Minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, 1733–1746, p. 93. Following the break between the New Side and the Old Side in 1741, ministers frequently absented themselves from presbyterial meetings. This practice occurred frequently in the Presbytery of Donegal even after the union of the New York and Philadelphia synods in 1758.

1729 by the Synod of Philadelphia provided a basis for determining whether or not a minister might be guilty of heretical teaching and preaching.

Before the religious outbreak, occasioned by the coming of George Whitefield to Philadelphia, the placidity of Presbyterian religious life in that city was upset in 1734 and 1735 by the arrival of Samuel Hemphill.[2] After an investigation of the charge of heresy that was brought against Hemphill, the Synod of Philadelphia declared him unqualified for continued service in the ministry.[3] A contemporary, in commenting upon the result of the affair, stated:

> Mr. Hemphill, though a taking preacher, was an indifferent writer; and after a little while it was discovered that the eloquent sermons which he preached, were not really his own performances, but borrowed literally from other divines. Upon which discovery he took his departure in quest of better fortune, and probably in search of critics, with shorter memories than those of Philadelphia.[4]

Sometimes presbyteries were confronted with the necessity of investigating the preaching of a member as a result of complaints against his preaching by members of his congregation. A complaint, similar to that brought by Franklin against Jedidiah Andrews for his emphasis upon doctrine,[5] was brought by an element in the congregation of the Forks of the Brandywine against the Rev. Samuel Black. There were some in the congregation who claimed that he did not present sufficiently effective applications in his doctrinal preaching. In response to this complaint the Presbytery of Donegal claimed that his concentration on phases of doctrine was an excuse for his failure to use applications.[6]

During the period of revivals in Pennsylvania many utter-

[2] This affair is treated at greater length on pages 160–161.

[3] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 117.

[4] Thomas I. Wharton, "Notes on the Provincial Literature of Pennsylvania," *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, I, 139–140.

[5] Albert H. Smyth, *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, I, 325.

[6] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 201.

ances that laid some ministers open to heretical accusations were made. In 1734 it was reported to the Presbytery of Donegal that the Rev. William Orr asserted that the doctrine of election was "a damnable notion" and that "Jesus Christ hath put every man in a capacity, if he would, of being saved, that God never made man . . . [illegible] to damn him." This assertion savored strongly of Arminianism. Orr's adherence to this belief was condemned by Presbytery, but he was cleared of the accusation that he had taught this doctrine.[7] David Evans, pastor at Tredyffrin, was accused of heterodoxy in 1740, but the Presbytery of Philadelphia claimed that the charge was unfounded.[8] In 1741 Jedidiah Andrews complained that "both Town and Country are full of Antinomian Errors" that had gained a large following.[9]

Other grounds for grievances against ministers were entered along with the complaints against the character of their preaching. Elders at times found occasion to carry their criticisms of ministers to the presbyteries. In October 1773 some members of the session of Lower Marsh Creek complained on three counts against the Rev. John Slemons. In addition to the accusation that he lacked in the practices of visiting and catechizing they claimed that his preaching in general failed to "enter fully into the Marrow & Spirit of the Gospel" and that his sermons "are destitute of that clearness, strength of thought, & Spirituality which they have found in many Preachers and Printed Books," and that a particular sermon of his, of which the complainants produced some extracts, was faulty. The Presbytery of Donegal, before which the affair was brought, found that he had visited and catechized adequately under the prevailing circumstances, that the general nature of the criticism against his preaching was lacking of proof, and that the particular sermon complained of was "un-

[7] *Ibid.*, I, 14, 21.

[8] Minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, 1733–1746, p. 85.

[9] Letter of Jedidiah Andrews to the Rev. Mr. John Pierson, June 25th, 1741, in the Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, American Colonial Clergy.

seasonable" and certain things therein "which seem to have been directed agt [against] some Individuals were unwarrantably severe, if applied to these Persons." A member of the Presbytery was directed to address both parties after the decision of Presbytery had been read to them. These measures, however, did not settle the matter. When a month later another complaint was entered against the inadequacy of his administrations, the dissenters were granted the liberty, during the incumbency of John Slemons, to worship in any neighboring congregation under the jurisdiction of the Presbytery of Donegal, but to remain members of the Lower Marsh Creek congregation and to return to that body when the cause of the present difficulty had been removed.[10]

In some instances complaints against ministers were carried to the presbyteries by the sessions, or by some of the members of the congregations, because it was believed that they had exceeded their authority. In 1736 the session of the Pequea Presbyterian congregation that was under the pastoral care of the Reverend Thomas Craighead, although satisfied with his doctrine and conversation, had cause to complain against his action in debarring his wife from the Lord's Table without consulting the session, who were the proper judges of such cases of debarment, and without giving his reasons for such action on his part. A committee chosen by the Presbytery of Donegal to settle the matter reported that Craighead's action was so unreasonable that they suspected his being "under some dreadful delusion of Satan, if not a delirium in his head as to this matter," and that his exclusion of his wife from the Lord's Supper without the advice of the session was inconsistent with Church government. The Presbytery accepted the committee's judgment but proposed substituting "ungrounded jealousies" for "if not a delirium in his head" as descriptive of Craighead's attitude in this matter. In compliance with the order of Presbytery Craighead restored his wife to church privileges on the

[10] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, III, 133–134, 139.

basis that it was an act of Presbytery and not his own act that restored her. Presbytery conceded him the privilege of interpreting the matter in that light. But it was not long until another complaint against Craighead on the aforesaid grounds led to the dissolution of the pastoral relation between him and the congregation of Pequea in the same year.[11] The arbitrary and despotic action of the Reverend David Evans, of Tredyffrin, in rejecting elders that had been chosen by the congregation, an action branded as church tyranny, was censured by the Presbytery of Philadelphia, and led to the severance of pastoral relations at the request of David Evans.[12] The failure of the Reverend Benjamin Chesnut to organize a people "into a Church State with proper officers among them" brought a deserved reprimand from the Presbytery of Abington.[13]

A case that had more far-reaching effects than the above-mentioned cases arose over a complaint brought by members of the congregation of Middle Octoraro against their pastor, the Reverend Alexander Craighead, for having been deprived of the privilege of partaking of the Lord's Supper by their minister because they refused to accept the conditions that he demanded as essential and for his "violent" intrusion into the bounds of the New London congregation under the pastoral charge of the Reverend Francis Alison. When this affair arose, the religious life of the colony was pulsating under the influences of the Great Awakening. Following the custom of trying the case in the place where the difficulty arose, the Presbytery of Donegal met at Middle Octoraro in December 1740 to judge the matter. But the deliberations of the Presbytery that consisted largely of Old Side adherents were rudely "interrupted by the peoples rising into a tumult and railing at y^{e} Members in y^{e} most Scurrilous & opprobrious terms." [14] The turbulence of this uprising of Craighead's supporters

[11] *Ibid.*, I, 122–124, 131.
[12] Minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, 1733–1746, pp. 85–87.
[13] Minutes of the Presbytery of Abington, 1752–1758, p. 28.
[14] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 207–208.

forced the Presbytery to leave the meetinghouse and to complete its deliberations in the home of a certain John Reid. Craighead, who was suspended by the Presbytery, rejected its judgment because they were his accusers. In May 1741 the case came before the Synod of Philadelphia, but before it could be decided the cataclysmic upheaval which led to the formation of a synod by the New Side adherents occurred.[15]

Presbyteries had also to deal with ministers who under a sentence of suspension for some moral delinquency continued to perform the services of the ministry. This practice abounded more frequently within the wide reaches of the Presbytery of Donegal, where the authority of the Presbytery could not be carried out as effectively as in the more restricted areas of the eastern presbyteries. One case in point is that of the Reverend Robert Huey who had been suspended by Presbytery for "having been repeatedly guilty of intoxicating himself with Spirituous Liquors, & has also profaned the Lord's Day in a Scandalous manner." In spite of his suspension he continued to officiate "in some of our Settlements upon the Western Frontier, as if he was a regular Minister." Summoned to appear before Presbytery, he came to the meeting of the Presbytery of Donegal in October 1775, when he acknowledged that he had preached and baptized since his suspension, but did so "at the pressing Importunity of People in those remote parts where he resides and not in contempt of our authority." In the following year the Presbytery deposed him from the ministry, since "there is not any probability of his being useful as a Minister of the Gospel." [16] Other cases involving presbyterial exercise of control over ministers arose from time to time, but are not entered here because they were minor cases. The way in which ministers became involved in controversies with their congregations on moral and economic grounds will appear in subsequent passages.

[15] *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* pp. 156–157.
[16] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, III, 98–99, 125, 149, 218, 262.

VISITATIONS OF THE PRESBYTERIES

Before dealing with the character of the cases that came before the presbyteries, it is needful to give some attention to the way in which these cases were brought before those bodies. Cases within the scope of sessional jurisdiction could be carried to the presbyteries by appeal. The privilege to appeal over the decision of sessions to higher religious courts was a recognized right within the Presbyterian Church.[17] This practice of appeal was in vogue when the sole Presbytery in colonial Pennsylvania was that in Philadelphia. Owing to the fact that the stated meetings of the Presbytery were held in Philadelphia, it was necessary to carry one's case to the place of meeting. After the establishment of the additional presbyteries in 1717 it became customary to hold meetings at different places within the bounds of these presbyteries. Prevailing conditions on the borders of settlement prompted the members of presbytery to adopt such a plan of visiting the various Presbyterian settlements. This practice of visitation was employed by the presbyteries of Philadelphia, New Castle, and Donegal within the bounds of Pennsylvania in order to inquire into the state of various congregations and to settle disputes within those congregations.

The presbyteries of New Castle and Donegal engaged actively in this practice of moving in circuit. But it was in the Presbytery of Donegal that the practice of visitation became a stated policy. At a meeting of that Presbytery at Upper Octoraro on September 6, 1733 (O. S.), it was unanimously agreed and ordered "that they shall goe in circuit, & sit in ye several Cong. [congregations] wthin [within] our bounds, & y^{t} [that] they shall then visit & inspect into y^{e} state of the cong^{ns}. & y^{e} conduct of the Minister to his people & of people towards their mnrs [ministers]." [18] This practice brought the Presbytery into closer contact with each congregation within its bounds

[17] Provided for in the Westminster Form of Government.
[18] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 12.

than before the adoption of such a policy. Furthermore such visitations became important events in the life of the Presbyterian communities. Interest, within a community, in religious problems and in organized Presbyterianism was sustained through this source of contact. And since certain congregations needed closer observation, presbyteries could more readily advise the congregations of the things that were needful for the promotion of their religious life.

Some examples will illustrate the value of these presbyterial visitations in safeguarding the religious life of a community. On one of its visits to Chestnut Level the Presbytery of Donegal recommended that the congregation should show diligence in finishing their meetinghouse and pulpit and in enclosing their place of interment with a fence.[19] Of particular significance was the opportunity afforded to presbyteries to inquire into the state of affairs within the congregations and between the congregations and ministers. Such inquiries were usually made. The minister was first questioned as to whether or not the congregation was fulfilling its obligations. If a congregation was not diligent in the fulfillment of its duties, the congregation or its representatives were admonished and advised as to the proper course to pursue. Presbyteries also inquired of the congregations about the diligence of the minister in the performance of his duties and about the conduct of the elders, and interrogated the elders concerning the conduct of the ministers and congregations.[20] At such times as these the difficulties between ministers and congregations and between members within the congregations were handled.

PRESBYTERIAL SETTLEMENT OF CONGREGATIONAL DISPUTES

The records of the various presbyteries reveal that troubles between a minister and his congregation arose out of the claims of a certain group that the minister supported one side to the

[19] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 61.
[20] *Ibid.*, I, 13, 37, 61, 299; Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, I, 131.

detriment of the other in disputes within a congregation. Where such divisions occurred the work of the Gospel ministry was seriously handicapped, sessions were divided, and ministers requested release from their charges. When there was little likelihood of appeasing the contending parties, the presbyteries granted the ministers' requests for dismissal.[21] In one instance a presbytery found it necessary to admonish a congregation to come to the support of some of its members, who had been responsible for building the meetinghouse, but had not received the proper financial support from the congregation. In response to the admonition of presbytery the congregation made amends for this neglect.[22] Tardiness of congregations in the payment of their ministerial supplies was a common fault, as has already been indicated, that had to be dealt with from time to time by all presbyteries.

Lawsuits among Presbyterians occasionally involved congregations in difficulties to such an extent that presbyterial interference was needful, and resulted in certain judgments being handed down by the presbyteries.[23] Failure of some members of the Paxtang congregation to aid in paying the costs of defending an action involving the congregational property after one of the members of the congregation had been encouraged to take up the matter prompted the Presbytery of Donegal to order that "the Costs & Charges be Equally defrayed by all y^{e} Mbrs [members] of sd Cong^{n} [said congregation] under y^{e} pain of suspension from Chh [church] priviledges." [24] Lawsuits became so numerous among Presbyterians that presbyteries began to rule against this method for settling their differences. As early as 1729 an overture was brought before the Presbytery of New Castle "to prevent going to Law, in cases of Civill differences." [25] Sometimes it fell

[21] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 38, 64–78.
[22] *Ibid.*, I, 113, 119. This was the case in the Nottingham congregation.
[23] *Ibid.*, I, 39, 313.
[24] *Ibid.*, I, 19.
[25] Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, I, 150, 153.

to the lot of a presbytery to reprimand a member of a congregation for disturbing the peace of a religious society by a lawsuit. A certain Patrick Martin started a suit against George Ronick, of the Paxtang congregation, for his failure to fulfil a certain agreement to pay the former for sawing one thousand feet of plank for the minister's house. After being questioned by Presbytery, Martin admitted that the lawsuit was begun because of the resentment that he held for Ronick's "hard & abusive words" and the "disaggreable conduct of some other persons in reference to ye paym^{t} [payment] for sawing of sd plank." Presbytery found him guilty "in a very sinful manner, of Exposing our holy religion, & particularly y^{e} Cong. [this congregation] to ridicule & contempt before y^{e} world, by going to law before such as are wthout, & y^{t} so precipitaully wthout Exercising any reasonable degree of patience towards y^{e} people to give y^{m} [them] time for pay^{mt} of sd money or wages, Especially considering y^{t} Mr Bertram had offered to pay sd money or wages, in behalf of sd People from whom it was due." [26] The Presbytery also claimed that Ronick and the congregation were greatly at fault in not taking up the lawsuit and in endangering the peace of the congregation. After handing down some other findings on the case, Presbytery concluded its judgment in the following manner:

In sum y^{e} Pby doe lament and bewail a spirit of contention & uncharitable stifness of temper that appears to preveal [prevail] so much among the profession of Religion in our day, that ye many appear deliberally [deliberately] to chuse [choose] to sacrifice the peace of Xs Chh [Christ's Church] to their own privat interests & humor, & we Earnestly intreat y^{t} y^{e} people of this Cong. in particular may be persuaded to put on a spirit of Meekness, mutual forbearance & chari-

[26] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 39–40. An admonition or judgment, similar in intent to the aforesaid, was handed down by the Presbytery of Philadelphia in 1766 as follows: "The Pbȳ do also bear their Testimony against our People going to the Civil Magistrate to Issue such personal Injuries & affronts, as may be among them, before proper Methods have been used by the session or other Persons in the Congregation to whom it may be referred." Minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, V, 95.

table condescendency towards one another, least [lest] if they bite & devour one another they be consumed one of another, least they gratify the great Enemy of Xt [Christ] & his Chh, by casting it down unto y^e^ ground before it be well begun to be built.[27]

In this manner presbyteries sought to admonish and correct the people and to encourage them to follow scriptural injunctions to walk in peace and harmony. But to the frontier-bred men whose lives were not readily ordered by government, civil or religious, submission was not an easy matter. Yet the desire to enjoy the privileges of church life for themselves and their children induced these people to comply with whatever outward expression of repentance was required of the offender.

Presbyteries were called upon from time to time to determine the seating arrangements within certain congregations on the basis of contributions that had been given. Where the possibility of controversy over the seating arrangement existed it proved necessary to designate individuals to certain seats.[28] Sometimes a presbytery would be called upon to act in the capacity of a banking organization. A will of a Phillip Davies, of Conococheague, directed that a sum of two hundred pounds should be invested under the management and direction of the Presbytery of New Castle and that the interest should be used to provide an education for "some of his Male Posterity." Presbytery attended to the matter by appointing two of its members as trustees of the fund.[29]

The activities of everyday life led directly to the religious courts whenever a breach of faith or agreement arose between members of the Presbyterian Church. Misunderstandings over financial matters, false representations, destruction of property, and matters of salaries and service came before presbyteries for settlement. The religious courts could not disregard

[27] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 40.

[28] Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, I, 103–104; Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 64.

[29] Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, III, 40, 89, 98, 130, 189, 279, 307.

cases of an economic character when a member of a congregation had a claim against the minister, as in the case of Silas Billingsley, who claimed that the Reverend Andrew Bay had not paid him his wages "because he had failed of a crop of corn," [30] nor reject an appeal over a decision of a session that deprived a person of church privileges because he was involved in stealing some sheep, or because of a claimed falsehood regarding the amount of land that had been surveyed, or as a result of a disagreement over a business deal.[31]

PRESBYTERIAL DECISIONS ON MATTERS OF CONDUCT

Problems of moral delinquency and turpitude multiplied the tasks of the presbyteries in their efforts to maintain a moral standard of conduct in harmony with scriptural injunctions. In the multitude of cases upon the records of presbyteries, the problem of selection provides difficulties that can only partially be overcome by classifying the cases for presentation as to type and by choosing from the many examples those that are apropos. Among the most numerous citations of delinquency in the records were slanderous reports, bigamy, adultery, fornication, indiscreet conduct, profanity, falsehoods, drunkenness, and the desecration of the Sabbath. There are a few instances also of individuals accused of witchcraft.

In colonial America no less than in the life of today the indiscreet conduct of some individual became the concern of the whole community. And the church was confronted with the task of regulating the life of its members—an age-old practice—in colonial Pennsylvania. The traditional Calvinistic practice of controlling the life of a community was not discontinued in the boundless reaches of a wilderness. The regulation, however, was restricted to members of congregations. How many members of a Presbyterian settlement were also

[30] Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, III, 63, 64.

[31] *Ibid.*, III, 14; Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, II, 248–250; III, 188–189.

members of the congregation is problematical. But it was customary for the heads of the leading families of a community where Presbyterians were the most numerous to initiate a movement for the establishment of a religious society. Although there were families that escaped the regulatory activities of religious societies because they belonged to no congregation, there were many individuals whose childhood experiences had implanted in them a conscious need of fostering the religious side of life through church membership and who regarded the regulation of conduct by the Church as an essential feature of its religious activities.

Presbyteries in reviewing the cases for judgment relied on the sessional records and witnesses who were called in to testify. But of the many cases that came up for settlement the presbyteries frequently found that the grounds for accusations were insufficient and in some instances false. Unrestrained inclinations to start slanderous reports against ministers as well as against members of congregations were not infrequent.[32] As a matter of fact such cases became so frequent and at times resulted in such long proceedings that one Presbytery handed down the following judgment:

> As a conclusion to y^e^ whole, we desire to leave our testimony ag^t^ [against] the Evil spirit of contention & wrangling, in profession of Relig^n^ [Religion], both ag^t^ Mnrs [against Ministers], & Especially their own, & amongst on[e] another; an Evil spirit y^t^ seems, alas for it! to have got dreadfully possession of a great many of our persuasion, & Especially of our own countrymen in these parts of the world.[33]

A group of cases that necessitated careful and judicious handling involved such matters as indiscreet conduct, fornication, adultery, and violation of marriage relations. In this period of our study as in all others the young people found

[32] Minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, 1733–1746, pp. 1–11, 81–82. The presbytery judged the accusations of Joseph McClean against the Reverend Richard Treat in one instance and against a Mary Thomson in another case as ungrounded and slanderous.

[33] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 35.

themselves exposed to accusations because of violations of the accepted standards of conduct. The Presbytery of Donegal had to deal with the case of a Mary Doniston whose character had been "aspers'd" by the Pennsboro congregation because of a report of immorality. After due consideration of the affair, the Presbytery of Donegal concluded that, although she had not been guilty of immorality, her choice of company and imprudent conduct, "how much Soever this Conduct may be imputed to y^{t} innocent freedom that young persons Sometimes use, & however favourable the Negative evidences appear in her excuse yet we could wish She had been more circumspect in her walk & cautious in respect of her company, considering how liable young persons are to reproach, & be narrowly watch'd in every part of their behaviour." [34] But such advice was to no less degree needed by the older people whose conduct came under the critical eye of the public. Presbyteries found church members and even ministers sometimes guilty of "immodest behaviour" and conduct which is "not aggreable to the rules of Christian prudence, gravity & good temper in which a minister of the Gospel ought to be examplary." [35]

Fornication, incestuous marriages, cohabitation, and adultery had to be dealt with from time to time by the various presbyteries. To safeguard against easy entrance into membership of people guilty of the above-mentioned sins the Presbytery of Donegal ordered and earnestly recommended to its members and sessions the inadvisability of being "hasty & precipitant in admitting" persons guilty of fornication "until by diligent dealing wth them in private they obtain competent Evidences of their true & sincere sense of & sorrow for their sin, by y^{e} publick profession & Evidences whereof the publick scandale is likely to be removed." In the case of adultery persons were not to be absolved "untill y^{e} Matter be first repre-

[34] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 310.

[35] Minutes of the Presbytery of Abington, pp. 35 f.; Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 258.

sented to the Pby & they consulted in y^e^ affair and further y^t^ no Person under Censure shall be allowed to present a child to baptism before they be absolved from Censure whatever promises or security they may offer to secure their satisfaction for y^e^ future." [36]

Because of such offenses, of which there are numerous entries in the records, the need for granting divorces arose in some instances. This was a function performed quite frequently on the frontier by presbyteries. The church's attitude towards individuals guilty of incest appears in the case of a Richard Perkeson, of the Forks of Brandywine. After he had confessed to having married the daughter of his former wife's sister, the Presbytery of Donegal determined that the marriage was unlawful and sinful, and until evident signs of repentance had been given they were to be excluded from all church privileges.[37] In another instance the same Presbytery dissolved the marriage of a William Query on the grounds that his wife's conduct "both before she went away to Virginia and left him, and more especially in going away with another Man, and having now absented her self 9 or 10 Years, and refusing to return, but in y^e^ Mean Time cohabiting with another Man (as appears by a letter by her son) and attempting to run s^d^ W^m^. in Debt, to his great Prejudice, has been directly opposite to y^e^ Tenor of y^e^ Marriage Covenant, and contains evident violations of it," [38] and moved that his case should be recommended to the governor for the granting of a divorce. Presbyteries, appealed to for release from marriage by an individual who had unknowingly been married to a person al-

[36] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 65–66.

[37] *Ibid.*, I, 165. A similar case appeared before the Presbytery of New Castle in 1766, which directed that, since the marriage was apparently forbidden by divine law, "the Parties ought not to be admitted to Church Priviledges." Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, III, 137, 150.

[38] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, II, 57; Carlisle Presbytery dissolved the marriage of Benjamin Kidd after his wife had broken her marriage contract by adultery and desertion with another man, and assured Kidd that if he remarried in a regular way he would not "be deem'd worthy of Church censure on that account." *Ibid.*, II, 179.

ready married, would grant a divorce and regard the innocent person as single and as free of censure and of exclusion from church privileges.[39]

This practice, by presbyteries, of dissolving marriage contracts met with an emphatic disapproval from the Synod of New York and Philadelphia in 1769. The customary practice of examining and approving the minute books of the presbyteries was followed at this meeting of the Synod. But in the approving of the Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal an exception was made because of "the Liberties they have taken to declare Persons free from their Covenant of Marriage, in which they seem to interfere with the civil Law, which the Synod highly disapprove." [40]

To safeguard the integrity of the family and the control of parents over children and to encourage marriage within the bounds of civil and ecclesiastical limits the Presbytery of New Castle declared that one of its members, the Reverend Andrew Sterling, by marrying Thomas Hope's daughter "to a young Man clandestinely" without the parents' consent, had violated the rules of marriage, and that such an act "opens a Door for & tends to encourage clandestine Marriage & consequently Disobedience in Children to their Parents, who have a Right to dispose of them in Marriage," and by his admonition to the couple to secrecy had run counter "to the natural Intention of the Action which ought to be made known according to both civil & ecclesiastical Rules & Maxims." [41]

After a presbytery found an accused person guilty of a moral delinquency of the aforesaid character, the case was handed over to the session of the congregation in which the offense had been committed for executing the customary methods of absolution. Since a guilty person was not admitted

[39] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, II, 265; Minutes of the Second Phila. Pby., p. 43.

[40] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, II, 272; *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 398.

[41] Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, III, 9.

to the "distinguishing privileges of the church until public satisfaction be given," the session directed the stages for absolving the guilty person. The customary procedure was that the offender should make a public confession and profession of repentance two or three times before the congregation on as many Lord's days. The fulfillment of the order brought absolution by the minister and restoration to the privileges of the church as a member in good standing.[42]

KEEPING THE SABBATH HOLY

"Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy" was not an empty commandment in the day of the colonial church. Violation of this commandment brought offenders before presbyteries. The particular type of offenses in this category that appear on the records involved both ministers and laymen. One of the earliest offenses of this type that was entered on the records was committed by the Reverend Robert Laing who had "been guilty of prophaning the Lord's day by washing in a Creek." The Presbytery before which the offender was tried ordered that he should be rebuked for such conduct by the moderator of the Presbytery and that he should be suspended from the ministry. But his conduct was so offensive at the time that the rebuke was administered that he was deposed from his pastoral office by the Presbytery of New Castle.[43] About a month later the case came before the Synod of Philadelphia. The Synod, although at first inclined to regard the judgment of the Presbytery of New Castle as too severe because Laing claimed that he was seeking a water cure for an illness, finally directed Laing because of his "weakness and deficiency . . . rendering his exercise of the ministerial function a detriment to the interests of religion, and rather a scandal than a help to the gospel" to demit the exercise of the ministry and not to re-

[42] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 125; II, 293, 336; Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, I, 129, 130, 161.

[43] Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, I, 69, 70.

sume such labors until the approbation of at least three ministers of the presbytery in which he lived had been obtained. As an evidence of concern for his material welfare the Synod gave him a sum of forty shillings, and promised to compensate any minister who prudently ministered to his needs.[44]

Even the harmless practice of whistling on the sabbath was forbidden. In the case of a minister who was charged of whistling on the sabbath a presbytery declared that it savored "too much of unwatchfulness," although the presbytery refused to try the case because the accusation was not supported by two or three witnesses.[45] In another instance a complaint was brought against a man for the "unchristian conduct in singing the 120th Psalm Watt's version the Sabath morning his brother James lay a Corps in the house," but the presbytery refused to admit the case. Traveling, carrying of burdens, buying or selling on the sabbath were considered violations of Christian conduct. In 1759 the Presbytery of Donegal, in response to a complaint brought before it, chose a committee of two to prepare an address to the Court of Quarter Sessions for its concurrence in the suppression "of the Notorious Prophanation of the Sabbath, by unnecessary Journeyings & driving of Carriages, &c." [46] The sabbath to many Presbyterians was a day of worship and rest, and not one of recreation.

OTHER REGULATORY JUDGMENTS

Although the extent to which belief in witchcraft existed among Presbyterians cannot be determined, there is sufficient evidence to show that it was a disturbing factor among some Presbyterians. In the course of a trial before the Presbytery of Donegal a witness stated that a certain woman, coming to America on board the same ship on which he took passage, had been suspected of being a witch. The test that a group planned

[44] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 86.
[45] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 235.
[46] *Ibid.*, II, 7.

to use is revealed in the statement that they "were resolving to try the truth of sd suspicion by geting her to say the Lord's Prayer." [47] In the congregation of Derry a report of one whose "too easy Credulity, unreasonable Suspicion, and publishing her groundless Conjectures" had led to a rumor of witchcraft but did not provide proof

> . . . that Agness [Taylor] or any of her Family are guilty of Witchcraft: for so far as we apprehend it is impossible for Satan or any Instrument of his, to put two solid Bodys in the same Place at the same Time, and therefore the Story in passing thro the Creek in the Glass is incredible, and that, together with the Child's Sayings, is all the ground to credit the Suspicion, and these amount to nothing at all. Upon the whole, tho' we wou'dn't in the least countenance Witchcraft or Charms, yet we se [see] no Ground at all, from any Thing bro[t] [brought] before us, to conclude Agness Taylor or any of her Family, guilty of it.

Because the affair had caused considerable commotion among the members of the congregation the Presbytery ordered the judgment to be read publicly in the congregation and an exhortation to be made against "giving heed to childish Stories." [48]

From time to time members of congregations as well as ministers had to be admonished by the presbyteries to guard against profanity and looseness of speech. As sessions had to warn church members against intemperance in drink, so presbyteries had to censure its ministers severely for their intemperance and immodest conduct. The repetition of the offense, following the admonitions, sometimes brought suspension.[49]

In fairness to the people of that age it is needful to remember that, although many cases of moral delinquency appear on the records, there were many whose good deeds were taken as a matter of course and found no entry on the written pages

[47] *Ibid.*, I, 74.
[48] *Ibid.*, II, 78, 79.
[49] *Ibid.*, I, 202, 223; II, 36–39, 43.

of the past. Sessions and presbyteries maintaining order within the scope of their authority rendered an inestimable service to society of no less importance than the endeavors of civil institutions to safeguard the interests of society. The Presbyterian organizations labored on, and the Presbyterians acknowledged these labors in the belief that the cause of righteousness was being promoted.

X

PRESBYTERIANS IN CHARITABLE AND MISSIONARY PURSUITS

Two phases of Presbyterian activity in Pennsylvania, the outgrowth of scriptural injunction and Christian experience, deserve special attention as distinct contributions to provincial society. The one phase was in the field of charity; the other, in that of missionary endeavor. Unfortunately the meagerness of local records leaves much to be desired in the way of information that would throw light on the activities of congregations to relieve indigency and distress within their bounds. Happily some information bearing on these pursuits can be gleaned from the records of the various presbyteries that received appeals for assistance from individuals.

When the immigrants arrived in this province, many were destitute and indigent, as James Logan certified in his correspondence. As venturesome Presbyterians they found relief by settling on unoccupied land and by engaging in agricultural pursuits. The abundance of unoccupied land afforded them plenty of opportunity to overcome, after severe toil and hardship, the necessitous conditions that marked their early arrival. But not all of them were able to evade misfortune. Carelessness on the part of some individuals, the hazards of frontier life, the upheavals of nature, and other unavoidable circumstances frequently placed many in distressing conditions that neighborly deeds of kindness alone could relieve.

RELIEF FOR THE DISTRESSED

Although many neighborly deeds to relieve sorrow, suffering, and the ravages of poverty pass unrecorded in the annals of man, there are some that have not been obliterated by the passing of time, and these afford a basis for study. Every community at some time or other was confronted with the necessity of caring for widows and orphans when the grim reaper, death, stalked through the cabins of frontier life; but in newly established communities no uniformity in dealing with the problem of caring for the bereaved persons took shape among these people. Sometimes the care of orphans would fall to some gracious soul who did not falter in the call to duty. A tombstone inscription bears testimony to such exercise of care in the case of a certain Cathrine Steel, a resident of the Presbyterian community of Derry, who in her "Life time Raised 19 orphan Children."

The nearest approach to uniformity in dealing with the care of orphans and widows among Presbyterians was carried on by the various presbyteries. When application for aid was made to a presbytery, it appealed to the congregations within its bounds to take a collection for the relief of the distressed. An application in behalf of a Margaret Wright whose husband, having been killed accidentally, left her with several children at a time when he was heavily in debt, came before the Presbytery of Donegal. After reviewing the case, the Presbytery decided that she was "justly an object of Christian Charity" and recommended that all congregations within the bounds of that Presbytery should assist her in her destitute condition. To such appeals the various congregations made a ready response by sending the contributions with their ministers to the Presbytery. If the cases were too serious to be dealt with by one presbytery, appeals were made to neighboring presbyteries to assist in the care of the distressed individuals.[1]

[1] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 152, 193, 195, 205.

To provide adequate care for needy widows and children the Synod, in 1766, recommended in response to the proposals of a number of lay elders and other Presbyterians "that the church sessions and committees appointed, take special care of their poor and distressed widows and orphans, and administer to them all the relief and assistance they can." [2] Such admonitions did not go unheeded. The First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, upon the recommendation of the Synod, chose six persons in 1770 to provide for the care of the orphans of the congregation and what property they might have by recommending them to the Orphans' Court, by getting proper guardians appointed for them, and when necessary by having them bound out to the proper families, and their estates, if there were any, secured to them.[3]

Presbyteries at various times were confronted with appeals for aid from individuals who were blind either from birth or as a result of accidents. Such cases were regarded as worthy of immediate care, and appeals for support of such individuals met with ready response.[4] In the case of Thomas McMurry, who was recommended "as an Object of Charity by a number of y^e^ most reputable Inhabitants of Carlile where he has for several Years past lived," the Presbytery of New Castle judged that "it is y^e^ Duty of every Congregation & of all Christian People to whom his Case shall be made known to contribute toward his Relief; & y^e^ more especially as he has been disabled in y^e^ Service & Defence of his Country ag^t^. its savage Enemies as a Volunteer, & enjoyn it on all their Members to recommend his Case to their several Congregations, & solicite their Benefactions on his behalf." [5]

Various other types of loss that warranted aid were pre-

[2] *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* p. 359; Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, I, 174.

[3] "Mem^n^. Made From The Book of Minuets of 1^st^ Pres. Church," *Jour. of Pres. Hist. Soc.,* III, 183.

[4] *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* p. 297; Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 233–234.

[5] Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, III, 100–101.

sented to the presbyteries. They sent out appeals for aid in a number of instances where individuals had suffered the loss of houses, barns, and other belongings by fire.[6] Individuals in a state of destitution were given assistance. "The Members [of the Presbytery of New Castle] present have collected for y^e^ poor Couple at y^e^ Head of Christine; except M^r^. Carmichael whose Reasons are deemed insufficient." [7] Presbyterians regarded it as a religious duty to provide funds for the completion of church buildings. A number of congregations within the Presbytery of Philadelphia sent in contributions for the completion of a church in Schenectady in New York.[8]

Since records do not as a rule contain the sums that were contributed by the various congregations, it is difficult to draw any general conclusions as to the extent of these contributions. One entry regarding the collection for a James Morgan, whose house and most of whose possessions had been destroyed by fire, reveals that the congregation of Nottingham sent one pound; that of Faggs Manor, one pound five shillings; and that of East Nottingham, thirteen shillings ten pence.[9] Other congregations contributed to this cause, but these are the only sums that appear in the minutes.

"A FUND FOR PIOUS USES"

The need of a fund to meet the numerous appeals for assistance that came from individuals and congregations prompted the newly organized Synod of Philadelphia in 1717 to call upon its members "to contribute something to raising a fund for pious uses." For the maintenance of the fund the Synod had to rely upon the contributions of the congregations to whom the appeals for funds were carried by the ministers of those congregations. Realizing that the support of such a project rested upon the congregational collections, the Synod

[6] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 242, 247.
[7] Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, III, 6, 12, 106.
[8] Minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, V, 128, 132, 144.
[9] Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, III, 19.

directed the treasurer of the fund, Jedidiah Andrews, in 1719 to write a letter to every member of the Synod "recommending a yearly collection to be gathered in every particular congregation for pious uses, to be sent yearly to the Synod by their minister or elder." Repeatedly the ministers were admonished to make this yearly collection for the fund. But in spite of these admonitions some ministers failed to bring the annual collections. In 1731 the Synod expressed a fear that the fund would be endangered "in case better care be not taken than has been for some years past." Although these appeals bore fruit from those who attended the meetings of Synod, it was found that no contributions were sent in when the ministers were absent. Hence in 1738 it was agreed "that every minister shall either seasonably propose the affair, and read the Synod's letter to their respective congregations, and appoint a day for a public collection, if there be occasion for such a step to carry on the design, or oblige themselves to pay out of their own proper estates ten shillings to the fund." Those ministers who were absent from this meeting were informed of this action and were held responsible for the collection on the same basis.[10]

Once more the program for religious purposes was chiefly dependent upon the responsiveness of the congregations. Nor did they fail to provide funds for such a worthy work. Although the yearly sums from some congregations did not exceed ten shillings each in some years, other congregations would contribute amounts ranging as high as ten pounds per congregation. In 1719 the report of the treasurer estimated the returns at a little more than fifty-two pounds since the fund was established. As a result of a collection that came from the Synod of Glasgow the total amount of the fund by October 1733 was five hundred and seven pounds, sixteen shillings, and ten pence. Subsequent reports showed an increase in the amount of the fund until 1739, when it totaled

[10] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, pp. 49, 57, 61, 100, 136, 143.

£599 14s 10¼d.[11] Thereafter the disturbances that led to the schism in the Presbyterian ranks affected the status of this fund, but did not result in its discontinuance. Collections were made at various times during this period of schism by the Synod of Philadelphia.

In 1754 a new proposal, in part a development along one phase of support rendered under the fund for pious uses, for a fund to support ministers' widows was made by the Reverend Francis Alison to the Synod of Philadelphia. The suggestiveness of the plan led the Synod to adopt it in the following year. This plan provided that every minister of the Synod who cared to do so could join a company through which provisions could be made for the care of his widow and children. As a member of the agreement he was to pay into the common stock the sum of two or three pounds annually. In the case of the death of a minister contributing to the fund his widow would receive annually the sum of five pounds, or of seven pounds ten shillings, which sum was determined in the first instance by the annual payment of two pounds, and in the other by the yearly payment of three pounds. Rules were drawn up to regulate the amount of payments to the beneficiaries in the case of the marriage or death of the widow, and to determine the status of the beneficiaries in the event the minister moved beyond the jurisdiction of the Synod, resigned, was suspended, or deposed from the ministry. The fund was placed in the care of eight trustees. In 1756 a committee was chosen to apply to the proprietors for a charter, in the following year the petition for incorporation was presented to the authorities, and in 1759 the charter was granted.[12] This company for the relief of ministers' widows and children is recognized as the first incorporated insurance company in America.

Before the creation of this company with trustees the fund

[11] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, pp. 57–58, 111, 147; Briggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 174–175.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 213, 215–217, 222, 224–225, 231, 296.

for pious uses had been under the care of a treasurer for the first few years. In 1719 a committee of ministers was placed in charge to receive the money "and consider of some proper methods of disposing of it to the best advantage for answering its end." [13] But the rapid growth of the fund as a result of the generous response from the congregations prompted the Synod in 1738 to place a minister and an elder out of every presbytery on the committee, since the congregations "have a right to know how what is collected is disposed of and managed." [14] In 1761, at the suggestion of Dr. Francis Alison, for the safeguarding of the Synod's fund on a legal basis, the Synod decided to place that money in the hands of the corporation for the widows and children of ministers. Two years later the corporation requested the Synod to send missionaries to the frontier inhabitants to find out their needs and a means of preaching the Gospel among them. As a result Charles Beatty and John Brainerd were chosen to go on this mission. In this manner a new element of control was provided through the transfer of the fund into the hands of the trustees of the new company. During the remaining years of the colonial era, collections for pious uses were brought to the meetings of Synod and placed in the hands of a synodical treasurer to carry on the work begun with the "fund for pious uses." [15]

The uses to which this fund for pious uses was put varied considerably and were determined by the Synod or by a synodical committee. One of the first grants made was for the purpose of aiding the widow of the Reverend John Wilson to the amount of four pounds with the additional provision that the treasurer could use discretionary power for granting further aid which was not to exceed three pounds within the next year. Before the establishment of the widows' fund others

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 56.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 136.
[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 326, 368, 369, 453.

under similar circumstances received assistance from this fund. In response to numerous supplications for financial aid from destitute congregations, grants were made by the Synod if the cause was regarded as worthy. In 1723 the congregation of Tredyffrin was given five pounds, and the people of Octoraro and Hanover were granted three pounds each without any indication on the records as to the purposes for which the funds were to be used. The construction of meetinghouses was regarded as a worthy cause for appropriations from this fund. The Synod voted in 1737 a grant of one hundred pounds in the event that the newly formed congregation in Philadelphia should need a meetinghouse, but if this congregation should unite with the old establishment only fifty pounds would be allowed for the purchase of a burying ground.[16]

The fund provided means for aiding certain young men in defraying some of the expenses in the preparation for the ministry, for supplying preachers to poor congregations, for sending missionaries to the frontier settlements, and for instructing the Indians in the Holy Scriptures. From time to time the treasurer was compensated, and the janitor of the church where the Synod met received contributions from this fund.[17] It was through this fund, raised among the Presbyterian congregations, that educational, charitable, and missionary projects of the Presbyterian Church were sustained in colonial times.

MISSIONARY WORK OF PRESBYTERIANS

When Presbyterians first made settlement in the province of Pennsylvania, they were dependent upon itinerant ministers of the Presbyterian Church, such as Francis Makemie, and ministers of other denominations, such as John Watts, a Baptist, who preached to Philadelphia Presbyterians until the arrival of Jedidiah Andrews. Many of the Presbyterian estab-

[16] *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* pp. 58, 59, 61, 77, 134, 201.
[17] *Ibid.,* pp. 142, 160, 369.

lishments in the province in the early period of their existence were nothing more than small missions served from time to time by some minister making the rounds of Presbyterian settlements as a missionary. With their growth, however, settled ministers were obtained. These men in turn found it incumbent upon them to serve the vacant congregations in surrounding districts. It was customary for presbyteries to designate the settlements that were to be supplied by their members, and no minister could expect to escape this important duty of carrying the Gospel to embryonic congregations. As the Presbyterian communities increased in number, the demands for missionaries multiplied.

With the coming of Francis Makemie to the province in 1692 the missionary work of Presbyterians in Pennsylvania began; for it is believed that at this time he preached to a small group of Presbyterians in Philadelphia. When Jedidiah Andrews began his ministry in Philadelphia in 1698, the way opened up for a wider missionary activity by Presbyterians within the province. His record of baptisms reveals that he visited settlements in both New Jersey and Pennsylvania.[18] The conscious need of Gospel preaching had been so deeply rooted among Presbyterians that the numerous calls from Presbyterian settlers for ministerial supplies greatly increased the demand for itinerant ministers. Before the Presbytery of Philadelphia had been organized, the Reverend Francis Makemie journeyed to England and prevailed upon the ministers of London to support two itinerants in America. With the assistance given by the London ministers he returned to the colonies with George McNish and John Hampton.

A more systematic means of handling the calls for ministerial supplies resulted with the formation of the Presbytery of Philadelphia. In 1707 this Presbytery overtured "that every minister of the Presbytery supply neighboring desolate places where a minister is wanting, and opportunity of doing

[18] R. Webster, *op. cit.*, pp. 299, 315.

good offers." [19] The records of the following year reveal that this overture was "complied with and practiced by the ministers." A few years later this same Presbytery, in appealing for aid to the Presbytery of Dublin, to the Synod of Glasgow, and to the ministers in London for the support of itinerant preachers, expressed the belief that it was "the proper season for advancing the gospel in the truth and purity" in Pennsylvania and New Jersey where the Church of England had not been established.[20]

The influx of many immigrants to the province in the seventeen-twenties increased the urgency of an active missionary program if the newcomers who were Presbyterians were to be held and others won to Presbyterianism. Consequently the presbyteries of Philadelphia and New Castle, joined by the Presbytery of Donegal in 1732, supplied those communities without settled ministers by directing its members at each meeting of presbytery to supply the designated settlements at specified times. Failure to supply such settlements without adequate reasons was regarded as a breach of responsibility. So urgent did the demands for itinerant preachers become that the presbyteries serving the frontier appealed to other presbyteries, to New England, and to the British Isles for missionaries. As the settlers moved to the western reaches of the province, both the presbyteries and the Synod sent out missionaries to preach the Gospel, to baptize, to catechize, to administer the Lord's Supper, to perform the marriage ceremony, to settle disputes, and to form congregations. Throughout the entire period, frontier and destitute settlements of Pennsylvania were provided with religious services by ministers serving in a missionary capacity.

The movement of Presbyterians along the Cumberland Valley into the back country of Virginia soon placed a new demand upon the Presbytery of Donegal in the field of mis-

[19] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 8.
[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 14 f.

sionary endeavor. In 1736 the Reverend Samuel Gelston fulfilled an appointment "to some New inhabitants near O'Peken [Opequhon] in Virginia who have by writing to Mr Gelston when he was . . . [illegible] over the River desired a visit of this kind & he is to spend some time in preaching to sd New Inhabitants according to discretion." [21] Within the next four years the number of Presbyterians on the Virginia frontier had increased to such an extent that the entry on the records refers to "Supplications from different Societies of our Persuasion in Virginia" in the Shenandoah Valley. These places were supplied by ministers from the Presbytery of Donegal, and in 1740 the Reverend John Craig accepted a call from "Shenadore & y^{e} South River." [22] The Presbytery of Donegal, in response to a request from the Presbytery of New York, appointed the Reverend Samuel Cavin to supply in the highlands of southern New York.[23] "A representation from many people of North Carolina" to the Synod of Philadelphia in 1744 led that body to send ministerial supplies to those people.[24] In this manner organized Presbyterianism of Pennsylvania fulfilled its missionary obligations to destitute Presbyterian settlers of other colonies.[25]

These projects, however, could not be carried on without a means of compensating those who went on these missionary journeys at considerable expense. The fund for pious uses provided one source of financial support for those who went to the frontier settlements. But those who enjoyed the benefits of such labors were also expected to share in its maintenance through offerings. Although the people were zealous for ministerial supplies, their financial support of such ministrations was not always commensurate with their zeal for them. Hence presbyteries had to remind them of their duty in such matters

[21] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 121, 128.
[22] *Ibid.*, I, 191.
[23] *Ibid.*, I, 259.
[24] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 175; R. Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 356.
[25] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 121, 122, 128, 150, 177, 191, 196.

and warn them that "we cannot in conscience oblige ministers to spend their time, strength & labour in preaching to such as will not contribute to their support in some reasonable proportion to ministers labours & peoples abilities." [26] Where circumstances were such that people could not contribute to the maintenance of such work they were not deprived of such ministrations; but ministers were compensated from a presbyterial or synodical fund maintained for missionary services through the collections that were taken in the other congregations.[27]

MISSIONARY LABORS FOR THE INDIANS AND THE NEGROES

As the westward movement of Presbyterians threw them in contact with the Indians, another opportunity for missionary endeavor was provided. Not, however, until the Great Awakening were circumstances such that missionary labors were begun by Presbyterians among the Indians of the province. The financially destitute state of Presbyterians and the paucity of ministers to supply the needs of rapidly growing communities on the frontier delayed any action on the part of the Presbyterian Church to send missionaries to the Indians.

The financial support for missionary work among the Indians was provided by the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge. When in November 1742 a young man in the person of David Brainerd received a letter from the Reverend Ebenezer Pemberton with an invitation to meet with some correspondents of the Scottish Society in regard to missionary work among the Indians, Brainerd's hope was to be realized following his expulsion from Yale College for not retracting a statement in which he described one of the tutors as having "no more grace than this chair." Beset with physical infirmity, he labored zealously from 1743 until his death in

[26] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 262, 263.
[27] *Ibid.*, III, 60, 61; *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 419.

1747 to minister to the spiritual needs of the Indians in a number of colonies. In 1744, at the direction of the Scottish Society, he went to the Forks of the Delaware where he preached to the Indians in the vicinity of Mount Bethel, Craig's settlement in what became Allen township, and Catasauqua. In response to an invitation to visit the Indians in the valley of the Susquehanna River he made several missionary journeys to the Indians along the Juniata and Susquehanna rivers. The will to carry on was greater than his physical endurance under continuous toil and exposure so that at the early age of thirty his earthly labors ceased, but the fruit of his labors continued to multiply through the influence exerted by his own devotion to duty and through the labors of his brother, John Brainerd.[28] The influence of David Brainerd has been graphically set forth in the following statement:

> Brainerd's saintly character and his absolute obedience to duty in spite of bodily weakness and pain made a profound impression upon his generation. Soon after his death Jonathan Edwards published an account of his life together with his diary, which proved a tremendous stimulus in promoting the cause of missions. For many this little book was a manual of religious guidance and few books have had a larger religious influence. Indeed, David Brainerd dead was a more potent influence for Indian missions and the missionary cause in general than was David Brainerd alive.[29]

The work of the Brainerds among the Indians of Pennsylvania was primarily to convert them to Christianity through the preaching of the Gospel. But among the Indians of New Jersey who had been won to Christianity they conducted an English school, prepared the boys for trades and business pursuits, and taught the girls spinning.[30] When John Brainerd again turned his endeavors in the direction of the Indians

[28] Briggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 297–303; Webster, *op. cit.*, pp. 506–525, 563–568.
[29] W. W. Sweet, *The Story of Religions in America*, p. 236.
[30] Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, Colonial Clergy: Letter of John Brainerd to Mrs. Smith, August 24, 1761.

along the Susquehanna River and planned a settlement in that region for the Indians, the outbreak of hostilities between the Indians and the whites on the frontier "intirely defeated our Design, and put a final Stop to all further Attempts of that Nature." [31] As a result of the hostilities John Brainerd was dismissed in May 1755 by the correspondents of the Scottish Society.

The missionary work among the Indians in the province during the French and Indian War and Pontiac's Conspiracy received little support from Presbyterians. What aid was provided came chiefly through the Synod of New York that consisted of the New Side adherents. In 1755 Gilbert Tennent reported to that Synod that he had received a gift of two hundred pounds sterling "for the propagation of the gospel among the Indians." [32] The donor of the gift requested that the interest be used to support either a missionary among the Indians, or a qualified schoolmaster to teach the English language and principles of natural and revealed religion to the Indians, or in the maintenance of an Indian youth at the College of New Jersey to prepare for teaching and preaching the Gospel among the Indians. If a suitable Indian youth could not be secured, an English or Scotch youth was to be chosen in his place.[33] In the subsequent years this fund was drawn upon to aid John Brainerd in his missionary work among the Indians and to provide a schoolmaster for them.

After the union of the Old and New Side elements in 1758 to form the Synod of New York and Philadelphia the work in behalf of the Indians continued. Although the annuity that had supported Brainerd's activities was stopped when he gave up the work, the Synod made provision in 1760 to carry on the work by making collections among the congregations. As a result of this action the congregations of the Presbyterian

[31] Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, Colonial Clergy: Letter of John Brainerd . . . , August 24, 1761.
[32] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 266.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 269.

Church in Pennsylvania aided in the maintenance of missionaries and schools among the Indians.[34] In 1766 the Synod directed Charles Beatty and George Duffield to go as missionaries to the frontier settlements and to the Indians on the Muskingum River, a branch of the Ohio River. In the following year they reported that they had fulfilled their mission and

> . . . that a considerable number of them waited on the preaching of the gospel with peculiar attention, many of them appearing solemnly concerned about the great matters of religion, that they expressed an earnest desire of having further opportunities of hearing those things; that they informed them, that several other tribes of Indians around them were ready to join them in receiving the gospel, and earnestly desiring an opportunity. Upon the whole, that there does appear a very agreeable prospect of a door opening for the gospel being spread among those poor benighted savage tribes.[35]

Although the Synod appointed John Brainerd and Robert Cooper to visit the frontier settlements and the Indians on the Muskingum as a result of this report, the mission was not fulfilled because an interpreter reported that conditions were not favorable for such a mission. The importance of this work among the Indians weighed so heavily upon the Synod that in 1768 a committee was chosen by that body to draw up a plan for bettering "the deplorable condition of the Indian tribes, the natives of this land, who sit in heathenish darkness, and are perishing for lack of knowledge." But the committee reported in the following year that it was "as yet inexpedient to enter on that important work." One of the objectives in the proposal of the Synod in 1772 for a general collection among the Presbyterian congregations was "for propagating Christian knowledge among the Indians." [36] In August 1772 a committee for making appointments for supplies within

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 299, 308, 311, 315, 316, 324, 335, 343, 350, 361, 369, 392, 405, 415, 427, 439.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 376.
[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 380, 391.

Donegal Presbytery recommended David McClure and Levi Frisbie who had been appointed for a mission among the Indians to congregations without settled ministers.[37] The support of the Indian school under the direction of John Brainerd and the sending of missionaries to the Indians comprised the major phases of the missionary work by Presbyterians among the Indians.

Towards the close of the colonial period another phase of missionary endeavor came to the attention of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia. In response to a representation from the Reverend Dr. Ezra Stiles and the Reverend Samuel Hopkins that the Synod countenance the sending of "two natives of Africa on a mission to propagate Christianity in their native country" a committee was chosen "after much reasoning on the matter" to bring in an overture dealing with African missions. Although no definite plan of assisting such a project was decided upon, the Synod assured the two petitioners that

> The Synod is very happy to have an opportunity to express their readiness to concur with and assist in a mission to the African tribes, and especially where so many circumstances concur as in the present case, to intimate that it is the will of God, and to encourage us to hope for success. We assure the gentlemen aforesaid, we are ready to do all that is proper for us in our station for their encouragement and assistance.[38]

It does not appear that any definite action to further this missionary work was taken by the Synod before the close of the colonial era.

In viewing the work of Presbyterians in colonial Pennsylvania in their charitable and missionary pursuits, we observe that the customary method of meeting problems was to attend to the situations as they arose rather than through any estab-

[37] Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, Colonial Clergy, Aug. 7, 1772; Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, III, 82, 87.

[38] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, pp. 456, 458.

lished plan—a practice that was not foreign to this age of developments. If there was any procedure that was characterized by uniformity, it was in the submission of appeals of charity to the congregations whose contributions provided aid for the distressed. The abundance of unoccupied land and the industry of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians tended to keep in abeyance questions of poverty; but when appeals for the relief of the destitute were made, congregations responded readily with their contributions. Since the major purpose of organized Presbyterianism was to propagate the Gospel, it was natural that a fund, such as the "fund for pious uses," should be provided for preparing young men for the ministry and for sending missionaries to the frontier, to destitute communities, and to the Indians. The immediate demands upon newly formed congregations and Presbyterian communities, as well as presbyteries and synods, temporarily delayed the entrance upon more comprehensive programs outside of the rank and file of their own adherents. With the ever expanding Presbyterian frontier there were constant demands upon the time and resources of organized Presbyterian interests that delayed entrance into a wider field of missionary endeavor.

XI

EDUCATION AMONG PRESBYTERIANS

THE RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS OF PRESBYTERIAN EDUCATION

The influences, external to home training, that provided the opportunities for securing an education were among Presbyterians of colonial Pennsylvania closely associated with the work of the church. A simple, nevertheless an important, practice that was commonly employed among Presbyterians in the Old World and that was continued by them in America was that of catechizing. This practice merited the praise of accomplishing two things; namely, providing a knowledge of religious principles, and maintaining a degree of orthodoxy. The value of catechizing as a means of teaching spiritual truths was declared in the Shorter Catechism of 1744 in the following terms: "It is found by Experience, that there is more Knowledge diffused among the Ignorant and younger Sort by one Hour's Catechising, than by many Hours of Preaching." [1] Although it was the basis for stimulating thought along religious lines rather than along material and secular channels, its object was to make good Christians rather than good citizens.

Since the minister was the spiritual and intellectual guide of many Presbyterian communities, he was the one responsible for catechizing. In many instances no regular method

[1] *Shorter Catechism, 1744,* p. iii.

could be followed in catechizing in frontier communities. Sometimes the congregation was divided into sections, called "quarters," and the elders assisted the minister in catechizing the congregation. More frequently the minister was responsible for conducting the catechizing by himself. At certain periods the people, old and young, gathered in kitchens or barns suited for holding large gatherings when they "were solemnly, carefully, and at length, catechized. The seed sown in the sanctuary was harrowed in by the catechizing." [2] Although this practice of catechizing may have had little significance in the development of formal schemes of education within communities, it did fill a great need in the education of the people in religious truths when public schools were lacking.

The demand for an educated ministry within the Presbyterian Church played a significant part in the promotion of institutional education in Pennsylvania. "The Church polity they [the ministers] represented, and the system of theology they preached, demanded neither the head nor the heart, but the trained and sanctified union of both." [3] When the Presbytery was formed in Philadelphia, the men who comprised its membership were either university trained or men of "sound learning." [4] From the very beginning of this Presbytery's existence candidates were required to undergo trials, such as preach a popular sermon, defend a thesis, give satisfaction "as to his skill in the languages," and answer questions extemporaneously. Even when there was a dearth of ministers to meet the demands for ministerial supplies on the frontier, presbyteries continued to maintain a high standard of intellectual discipline and competency.

[2] R. Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

[3] John R. Davies, *Pioneer Presbyterianism in Pennsylvania*, p. 4.

[4] H. D. Funk, "Influence of the Presbyterian Church," *Jour. Pres. Hist. Soc.*, XII, 156. Francis Makemie, John Hampton, and George McNish studied at the University of Glasgow; Jedidiah Andrews had been graduated from Harvard; Nathaniel Taylor "possessed a choice library"; Samuel Davis and John Wilson were "men of sound learning."

One of the most notable examples of safeguarding the intellectual integrity of its ministry is found in the case of David Evans. In 1710 word reached the Presbytery at Philadelphia that David Evans, a layman, was teaching and preaching among the Welsh in the Great Valley, Chester County. The Presbytery concluded that "the said Evan had done very ill, and acted irregularly in thus invading the work of the ministry, and was thereupon censured." The Presbytery, realizing the possibility of using David Evans to minister to the Welsh settlers, directed "that he lay aside all other business for a twelve month, and apply himself closely to learning and study, under the direction of Mr. Andrews, and with the assistance of Mr. Wilson and Anderson, and that it be left to the discretion of the said ministers when to put said Evans on trials, and license him publicly to teach or preach." [5] A year later, in 1711, the Presbytery granted him the right to "preach under the direction and inspection" of the aforesaid three who were directing his studies. Although he showed considerable "proficiency in learning" a year later, the members of Presbytery voted against his ordination at that time. In 1713 he was graduated from Yale College, and in November 1714, after the usual trials to inquire into his ministerial qualifications, he was ordained to the ministry.[6]

This practice of examining candidates for the ministry was also employed when candidates for the ministry in other denominations applied to the Presbyterian judicatures for ordination. Such candidates were rejected if they did not meet the qualifications that were regarded as essential for the ministry. In one instance Henry Goetschius, seeking ordination for service among the German people, was recommended to the Presbytery of Philadelphia. A committee of six of the Presbytery, selected to examine him, decided "that tho he appeared well skilled in the Learned Languages yet inasmuch

[5] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, pp. 15–16.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 32; Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 348; H. D. Funk, *op. cit.*, XII, 157.

as they found him altogether ignorant in College Learning, and but poorly read in Divinity, his ordination to the ministry must at present be deferred," and advised him to study under the care of some minister. Because of the "necessitous Condition" of the German people who desired his services the Presbytery gave its consent to his preaching among them.[7]

The maintenance of such standards placed upon the youths who desired to enter the ministry the necessity of obtaining a college education as well as a sound preliminary training. The facilities for obtaining an educational background that met these demands in the middle colonies in the first four decades of the eighteenth century were decidedly limited. In preparing the youths for meeting these qualifications the ministers of the various communities played an important part. Any minister who looked forward to the time when his own son or sons would enter the ministry was confronted with the necessity of laying the educational foundations for him. Hence when his ministerial and missionary duties did not bear too heavily upon his strength, he gathered his own sons and other promising youths of the community in his study and prepared them in the subjects needed to meet the qualifications for the ministry. Out of these gatherings developed some of the famous Presbyterian academies of colonial Pennsylvania.

The striking example of such a development in colonial Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century is that of the Log College along the Little Neshaminy Creek, about twenty-five miles north of Philadelphia. The Reverend William Tennent, Sr., was responsible for its establishment. In September 1718, when he was about forty-five years of age, he sought admission to the Synod of Philadelphia. Prior to his arrival in America on September 6, 1718 (O. S.), he had served as deacon and priest in the Established Church in Ireland. When he presented himself to the Synod, he asserted that his conscience forbade his continuance within the fold of the Anglican

[7] Minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, III, 42.

Church on the grounds that the polity of that church as well as some of the practices were anti-scriptural and that Arminian doctrines had arisen within its ranks. His credentials being found in order, he was admitted to the Synod.[8] Following a preliminary ministry of almost eight years in New York, William Tennent established himself in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, in 1726 or 1727, where he served the people of the Neshaminy for almost a score of years. His relationship to James Logan, who was a cousin of William Tennent on his mother's side, proved of valuable assistance upon his settlement as pastor along the Neshaminy. For in 1728 James Logan had fifty acres of land along the Neshaminy Creek transferred to William Tennent and his family, and directed that five pounds from his account be donated for building a house for them provided William Tennent could get the additional sum needed for its completion from others.[9] If an academy had not been started by William Tennent before the spring of 1728 when this grant was made, it is likely that Logan's gift opened the way for the beginning of the Log College project. In 1739 George Whitefield, in describing the school, stated: "The Place wherein the young Men study now is in Contempt call'd *the College*. It is a Log-House, about Twenty Feet long, and near as many broad; and to me it seemed to resemble the Schools of the old Prophets." [10]

The nucleus of the school was within the Tennent family itself—William Tennent, Sr., educated at the University of Edinburgh, as teacher, and his four sons, Gilbert, William, John, and Charles, as his first pupils. The first of these became one of the leaders of the religious revival within the Presbyterian Church during the Great Awakening. In addition to the yeoman service rendered by the four sons of Wil-

[8] *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* pp. 51–52; Notes of William Tennent, Simon Gratz Autograph Collection.

[9] Logan Papers, II, 80, 81; Logan Letter Books, III, 204.

[10] *A Continuation of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's Journal . . .*, 1740, p. 44.

liam Tennent, others went from the Log College during the subsequent years of its existence with a preparation and zeal to make inestimable contributions to the ministry and to education within Presbyterian ranks. Among these were Samuel Blair, the founder of the Faggs Manor classical school, and John Blair, his brother who continued the work of the former in that place and from 1767 to 1769 served as Professor of Divinity and Moral Philosophy and officiated as President of the College of New Jersey, Samuel Finley, founder of the famous school at Nottingham and President of the College of New Jersey, John Rowland, William Robinson, Charles Beatty, John Roan, and James McCrea.[11]

Although the Log College was humble in structure and primarily a one-man institution, the zeal and inspiration of its head was imparted to his pupils who went forth to preach the Gospel of Christ with a fervor that stirred the Middle Colonies and to found other academies patterned after that of the Log College. With the passing of William Tennent's active ministry the doors of the Log College were closed in the seventeen-forties; but with its expiration the New Side interests found a new field of educational endeavor in the College of New Jersey. "The friends and patrons of the former, became the principal supporters and trustees of the latter. Thus it may with truth be said, that the Log College was the germ from which proceeded the flourishing College of New Jersey." [12]

OTHER PRESBYTERIAN ACADEMIES OF COLONIAL PENNSYLVANIA

Other academies, founded and directed by Presbyterian ministers, continued to promote educational work among

[11] F. W. Loetscher, "Early American Presbyterianism," *Jour. Pres. Hist. Soc.*, XIII, 26–27; George H. Ingram, "Biographies of the Alumni of Log College," *Jour. Pres. Hist. Soc.*, XIII, 175–184, 297–319.

[12] A. Alexander, *History of the Log College*, p. 125; E. R. Craven, "The Log College of Neshaminy and Princeton University," *Jour. Pres. Hist. Soc.*, I, 314.

Presbyterian youth. Among the most famous were Samuel Blair's Faggs Manor Academy (1739) at Faggs Manor, Samuel Finley's (1744) at Nottingham, Maryland (West Nottingham, Pennsylvania), Francis Alison's (1743) at New London, Robert Smith's (1750) at Pequea, Sampson Smith's (1755) at Chestnut Level, John King's (1761) at Conococheaque settlement, James Latta's (1771) at Chestnut Level, and Colin McFarquhar's (1775) at Donegal.[13] Less famous academies were maintained in other communities by Presbyterian ministers.

Although the major purpose for the maintenance of these academies was to prepare young men for the ministry, quite a number of the ministers entered the field of education. The inspiration for the promotion of education instilled by William Tennent led Samuel Blair and Samuel Finley to establish academies and to play important rôles as educators as well as ministers. Among those who were graduated from Faggs Manor Academy were Samuel Davies who became one of the founders of the College of New Jersey (later Princeton University) and completed his illustrious career as president of that institution; John Rodgers who became the moderator of the first General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1789; and Robert Smith who established an academy at Pequea.[14] From this academy Smith's three sons went out as ministers, two of whom became presidents of educational institutions. Samuel Stanhope Smith became president of the College of New Jersey and John Blair Smith was president of Hampden-Sydney College in Virginia and later of Union College in New York. John McMillan, also a graduate of this academy, became famous as a pioneer minister in western Pennsylvania and founder of a log cabin school that became the foundation for a college. David Caldwell, John Francis

[13] Funk, *op. cit.*, XII, 184; *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 219. H. D. Funk places the date of the founding of Sampson Smith's academy as 1753.

[14] *Ibid.*, XII, 169; Webster, *op. cit.*, pp. 558, 601.

Armstrong, James Dunlap, John Linn, John Springer, and Nathaniel W. Semple were other students who prepared there.[15]

One of William Tennent's pupils, Samuel Finley, carried on both ministerial and educational work along the Pennsylvania-Maryland border in West Nottingham township. In this school as in the others the foundations for public service by some of the students were laid. Although the major motive of the Presbyterian academies was to educate young men for the ministry, there were those among the students who were to serve in important public capacities. Among Finley's pupils were such individuals as Benjamin Rush, John Bayard, Ebenezer Hazard, Alexander McWhorter, James Waddell of Virginia, Governor John Henry of Maryland, and Governor Alexander Martin of North Carolina. Following his period of service in the Nottingham school, Samuel Davies served as president of the College of New Jersey.[16]

Dr. Francis Alison also played an important part in the educational affairs of the province through his activities as a founder of classical schools, as an instructor and later as the vice-provost of the Academy and College of Philadelphia, which in the year of his death—1779—became known as the University of Pennsylvania. He began his educational activities as a tutor in the home of Samuel Dickinson, the father of John Dickinson who became the author of *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*. He was responsible for founding a school at Thunder Hill, Maryland, and one at New London, Pennsylvania.[17] In 1744 the Synod of Philadelphia, after considering proposals for establishing a school or seminary of learning, took Alison's school under its care. It was proposed

[15] "Dr. Robert Smith's Academy at Pequea," *Jour. Pres. Hist. Soc.*, VIII, 145–161.

[16] Funk, *op. cit.*, XII, 170; Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 490; Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, Colonial Ministers, 1759.

[17] Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 440. Webster states that according to Alison's correspondence the school at New London was started in 1743; but Briggs places its beginning two years earlier. Briggs, *American Presbyterianism*, p. 305.

that free instruction in the languages, philosophy, and divinity should be given in this school "where all persons who please may send their children," and that the school should be supported by yearly contributions from the congregations. Alison was chosen master of this school at a salary of twenty pounds yearly and was allowed an "usher" to assist him at a salary of fifteen pounds. Eleven ministers were appointed as trustees to inspect the method of teaching and to examine the scholars from time to time.[18] Alison continued as master of this school until 1752 when he removed to Philadelphia, where he took charge of a grammar-school that had been opened in 1749. When this school was chartered as a college in 1755, he was made vice-provost of the College of Philadelphia, where he continued to render service as an educator and carried on his ministerial duties. Among his pupils had been John Ewing, James Latta, and Matthew Wilson, ministers; Charles Thomson, Secretary of the Continental Congress; David Ramsey, the historian of North and South Carolina; Governor Thomas McKean, George Read, and James Smith, signers of the Declaration of Independence.[19]

During the colonial period other academies were established and developed through the endeavors of Presbyterian ministers. Some of these schools in humble surroundings in frontier communities did not become quite as famous as their predecessors, but did contribute to the educational advance of many youthful Presbyterians. A continued list must include Sampson Smith's academy (c. 1755) at Chestnut Level, John King's classical school (1761) at Conococheague, James Latta's classical school (1771) at Chestnut Level, Colin McFarquhar's classical school (1775) at Donegal.[20] Evidence points to the fact that many studies of Presbyterian ministers became educational centers. At Derry, Pennsylvania, a building, erected in the early seventeen-thirties and still standing, was

[18] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, pp. 175–176.
[19] *Dictionary of American Biography*, I, 181–182; Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 442.
[20] Funk, *op. cit.*, XII, 184.

known as the academy. A building belonging to the congregation of Paxtang and erected for the convenience of the pastor as a place for meditation between services also served as a schoolhouse.[21] The Synod of New York and Philadelphia directed that a part of "the German fund . . . be allowed Mr. [George] Duffield for his school," possibly located at Carlisle.[22]

COURSES OF STUDY

Since these academies were individual enterprises, with the exception of Dr. Francis Alison's school at New London which was under the direction of the Synod of Philadelphia from 1744 to 1752, the character of the courses varied considerably, but did aim to meet the demands of that day. To enter the ministry it was necessary to be conversant with the classical languages. Hence these academies trained the students in Latin and Greek. William Tennent, Samuel Blair, and Francis Alison were famous as Latin scholars. Samuel Finley, a pupil of William Tennent at the Log College and founder of the Nottingham school, revealed in a letter of 1759 that Thomas Ruston and Joseph Alexander as students at his academy had read the common Latin and Greek classics, studied logic, arithmetic, geography, some geometry, and "Part of Ontology, & Natural Philosophy, in a more cursory manner, as far as Opticks in Martin's Order." [23] Alison's school, which the Synod of Philadelphia took under its care in 1744, was to provide training in the languages, logic, natural and moral philosophy, mathematics, and divinity. Although the school had "to admit boys to read grammar," the Synod assured the authorities of Yale College that they were "determined to recommend none but such as have made a good proficiency in the languages, and are in some measure ac-

[21] W. F. Rutherford, "Notes and Queries" in *History of Paxtang Presbyterian Church*, p. 247.

[22] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 301.

[23] Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, Colonial Ministers, 1759.

quainted with the usual course of study in the arts and sciences now used in the British colleges," and although handicapped by limitations in natural philosophy, the Synod expressed a willingness to agree "as far as our circumstances will permit, that the same, or generally the same, authors, on the arts and sciences be taught in our school as are used by you." [24]

Dr. Frederick Beasley, a pupil of Dr. Robert Smith's at Pequea, in commenting on the method of teaching in the Pequea Academy, stated that it was the custom of the school "to read carefully and attentively" both the Latin and Greek classics. Latin was the "habitual" language that was taught in the school. Not infrequently contests were held among the better students to test their skill in the languages and to encourage a higher degree of attainment in them.[25] Emphasis

[24] *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* pp. 175, 188.

[25] *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society,* VIII, 145–161. Dr. Beasley gives the following information in his memoir:

"It was the custom of the school to require the pupils not merely to dip into the Latin and Greek classics, or pass in rapid transition from one to the other, by which means a very superficial knowledge of any is obtained, but when once they had commenced an author, to read carefully and attentively the entire work. Besides this laudable and beneficial custom, the scholars of this academy were stimulated to exertion by being brought into frequent competition and by having conferred upon the successful candidates for distinction such honors as were calculated to awake their boyish emulation and to quicken their diligence and attention. Latin was the habitual language of the school and after the pupils had passed through a few of the elementary works, as the colloquies of Corderius and the fables of Æsop, any error which they committed in grammatical propriety either in addressing the teacher or in speaking with one another was punishable as a fault. One literary exercise in the school was contested with more than ordinary emulation. When any class had advanced in its course beyond the Metamorphoses of Ovid and the Bucolics of Vergil, the members of it were permitted to enter into voluntary competitions for preëminence. On alternate Saturdays, eight or ten of the better scholars from different classes were allowed to try their skill in the languages in the presence of the principal teacher. Each competitor was suffered to select a sentence within a certain compass of one or two hundred lines, consisting of not more than six or seven hexameter verses. On this selected portion, he was the sole examiner, and was permitted to inquire about everything with which he could make himself acquainted by the most diligent previous investigation; such as the grammatical construction of the sentences, the derivation of the words, their composition, relations and quantity, the history or mythology referred to in the passage, the beauty and pertinence of the figures and allusions together with the taste and delicacy of sentiment displayed by the poet. After the whole contest, which usually lasted several hours, was concluded, rewards were bestowed by the master upon those who discovered the greatest address and ingenuity in conducting it."

was also placed upon the teaching of Presbyterian tenets. For purposes of uniformity in the preparation for the ministry, the Synod of New York and Philadelphia in 1766 adopted a series of regulations for the better ordering of society. One of the regulations called for the special exercise of care in the choice of schoolmasters so that in principles and character they would conform with Presbyterian standards, and directed that these masters should teach the Westminster Catechism and Psalmody. Visitations by ministers, church sessions, and committees that were chosen for such purposes were to be made among the Presbyterian schools to see that the suggested standards were maintained. The regulation also provided that, if the schools were composed of youths of other denominations, persons from these denominations should be invited to join in the visitations.[26]

THE MAINTENANCE OF EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS

During the first three decades of organized Presbyterianism in Pennsylvania no definite plan for preparing young men for the ministry had been pursued by the presbyteries and the Synod. But the activities of the evangelistic group during the Great Awakening resulted in the passing of regulatory measures by the Synod of Philadelphia. In response to an overture of Gilbert Tennent in 1734 for special care in examining candidates for the Lord's Supper and for the ministry the Synod passed a measure that called for a more thorough examination of candidates for the ministry. In taking such a regulatory course over candidates for the ministry the question of the educational background of the candidate became involved. Two outstanding institutions of learning had furnished the educational background for the majority of Presbyterian ministers in America during the early decades of Presbyterian developments in the colonies. It has been estimated that by 1738 approximately two-thirds of the Presby-

[26] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 359.

terian ministers in the American colonies had been graduated from the University of Glasgow and that the New England men were chiefly graduates of Yale.[27] Of the other Presbyterian ministers a number were Log College graduates who were looked at askance by the more conservative ministers because of their evangelistic activities and their itinerating in the parishes of other ministers. By a series of rules and overtures prompted as a result of the difficulties that had been produced by the activities of Samuel Hemphill in 1735 and "like considerations," admission of ministers into membership was made more rigid. These regulations soon became of such a type that they reflected upon the character of the work that was being carried on at the Log College.

In 1738 there came from the Presbytery of Lewes a proposal which suggested that students who, because of the cost, were unable to take "the usual courses in some of the New England, or European colleges, approved by public authority," should, before they received any encouragement from a presbytery to enter the ministry, appear before a committee of the Synod, consisting of men well versed in philosophy, divinity, and the languages, for an examination. If they made a satisfactory showing, they were to receive a public testimonial to that effect from the Synod which "will in some measure answer the design of taking a degree in the college." [28] This part of the proposal did not recognize the work of the Log College as on a par with that of the European and New England universities and colleges. Although the Log College had trained a group of energetic and aggressive young men for the ministry who were to become leaders in the religious and educational life of Presbyterians, it was natural for those men from the older and larger institutions to be skeptical about the character of the work of the Log College because of its limited facilities. To obviate any likelihood of

[27] Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 124.
[28] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 141.

offense the proposal contained the additional provision "that all that are not licensed to preach the gospel, what university or college soever they come from, may undergo the same trials." The Synod passed this proposal by a great majority.[29]

The Presbytery of New Brunswick, which comprised the evangelistic and Log College group and which had only one member on the examining committee for the region north of Philadelphia, reported in the following year that it had licensed John Rowland without his being examined by the synodical committee. When the Synod reaffirmed the act of the previous year, Gilbert Tennent asserted that the act was directed against his father's school.[30] The Synod in response to a proposal from the Presbytery of New Brunswick changed its ruling of the previous year to read "that every person who proposes himself to trial as a candidate for the ministry, and who has not a diploma, or the usual certificates from an European or New England university, shall be examined by the whole Synod, or its commission, as to these preparatory studies which we generally pass through at the college." If the candidate qualified, he was to receive a certificate that the presbyteries were to accept as the equivalent of a diploma or a certificate from a college.[31] Since these negotiations were being conducted at a time when the differences between the evanglistic group and the more conservative elements in the Synod were becoming more sharply defined, it was difficult to secure any satisfactory settlement in this matter. Consequently a movement for the establishment of a school which was to be supported by the Synod was begun in the Presbytery of Donegal.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN AUTHORIZED SCHOOL

In April 1739, about a month and a half before the meeting of the Synod of Philadelphia, the Reverend John Thom-

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 141.
[30] Webster, *op. cit.*, pp. 139–140; Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
[31] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 146.

son introduced at that meeting of the Presbytery of Donegal an overture "relating to the Erecting a publick school or seminary of learning." The Presbytery unanimously agreed to present it to the Synod, and the said Thomson was chosen to get the concurrence of the Presbytery of New Castle.[32] The result of this action was the presentation of an overture, unanimously approved by the Synod, "for erecting a school, or seminary of learning." Plans drawn up to prosecute the design provided for a committee of four, of whom at least two were to go to Europe and one to Boston to obtain assistance, and for a special meeting of the commission of the Synod to promote the program. Although the commission met as appointed and in the following year submitted its report, action was delayed as a result of the outbreak of the war between England and Spain.[33] Likewise the growing divergence of interest between the evangelistic and conservative groups placed an obstacle in the way of executing the plan.

As a result of a private agreement between the presbyteries of Philadelphia, New Castle, and Donegal in respect to the urgency of providing a school to educate young men for the ministry, the Synod in 1744 took under its care the New London School under the direction of the Reverend Francis Alison.[34] The program for the development of this school provided that "all persons who please may send their children and have them instructed gratis in the languages, philosophy, and divinity." The school was to be supported financially by means of yearly contributions from the congregations under the Synod's care on the basis of their willingness and ability to give. Francis Alison was continued as the master of the school and was given the right of choosing a tutor to assist him. For his services Alison was to receive twenty pounds a year and the tutor or usher fifteen pounds yearly. Although the Synod took

[32] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 177.
[33] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, pp. 149, 151, 155, 187.
[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 175–176.

action in 1748 to increase Alison's remuneration to forty pounds and that of the tutor to twenty pounds, in the following year the sum allowed Alison was thirty pounds annually. As master of the school Alison was to be relieved of "all public business" except attendance upon church judicatures and pastoral duties to his congregation. Three members of the Philadelphia Presbytery, three of Donegal Presbytery, and five of New Castle Presbytery were appointed as a committee of the Synod and as trustees of the school to manage its affairs for one year. Thereafter yearly appointments were made for conducting the school. The trustees were to "inspect into the master's diligence in, and method of, teaching; consider and direct what authors are chiefly to be read in the several branches of learning; to examine the scholars from time to time, as to their proficiency, and apply the money procured from our people as ordered above, and to what other uses they find proper," such as purchasing books and other necessities for the school.[35]

Francis Alison continued master of the school until 1752, when he removed to Philadelphia to take charge of a grammar-school in that community. In the same year the Reverend Alexander McDowell was placed in charge of the school. How long the Synod continued to support McDowell as master of this school is not clear,[36] for in 1755 no reference is made to it; but the Reverend Sampson Smith was directed to open "the school at Chestnut Level" in view of the expected assistance from the trustees of the German schools. When in the following year the support from the aforesaid source had not been received, the Synod directed that he be paid from the Synod's fund, "and that for his encouragement for the ensuing year, he be allowed ten or twelve pounds, provided the trustees of

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 176.

[36] Webster states that the school started by Alison and continued by McDowell was finally removed to Newark, Delaware, where it was chartered as an academy by John Penn in 1767, and that there were seventy-one students enrolled in 1771. Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 468. A later account appears in the *Delaware Notes, 1934.*

the German schools refuse to continue their encouragement, as we expect." [37] When the union occurred between the Synod of New York and that of Philadelphia in 1758, the College of New Jersey, which had been started and maintained by the New Side group, became the authorized school of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, and the fund for the education of Presbyterian youths was placed in the hands of the trustees of the college at Princeton.[38]

Although some doubt exists as to whether or not the Log College was continued until the death of William Tennent, Sr., because of the failure of his health during the latter years of his life, the young men who were educated there came directly under the New Side influence. And as has been indicated before, the presbyteries of New Brunswick and New York became the organized centers of the New Side activity, and united to form the Synod of New York in 1745. This New Side element within the Presbyterian Church, in its desire to maintain an educated ministry after the closing of the Log College, took steps for the establishment of a college by obtaining a charter in October 1746. Jonathan Dickinson, having been chosen president of the college, began this project in his own home in Elizabethtown, New Jersey, in 1747. With the death of Dickinson in October of the same year the college was removed to Newark, New Jersey, where it remained until 1756, when Princeton became the new site for the College of New Jersey. With the healing of the schism within the ranks of the Presbyterian Church this college became the official institution for the training of young men for the ministry, and the Synod maintained a fund with the treasurer of the College of New Jersey "for the education of poor and pious youth." [39]

In spite of these improved educational opportunities the

[37] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 224.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 311.
[39] Briggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 306–307; Webster, *op. cit.*, pp. 258 f.; *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, pp. 245, 249, 280, 294, 295, 344.

Synod was aware of the need for more instruction in divinity. Hence it ruled in 1761 that every student, after having obtained his first degree in college, should spend one year under the care of some minister who was skilled in theology "to discuss difficult points in divinity, study the sacred Scriptures, form sermons, lectures, and such other useful exercises as he may be directed to in the course of his studies." [40] Near the close of the colonial era the Synod, meeting in Philadelphia in May 1776, passed down the following judgment in the interest of an educated ministry:

> The reference from the Presbytery of New Castle, respecting the propriety of admitting young men upon trials for the ministry without their having obtained a college diploma, was taken into consideration, in answer to which the Synod observe, that the superior advantage attending an education in public seminaries, render it highly expedient to encourage the young men to finish their academical studies in such institutions as means of securing a learned ministry; and Presbyteries are ordered to promote this end by warmly recommending it to those who have the ministry in view. Yet as Presbyteries are the proper judges to determine concerning the literary and other requisite qualifications for the ministerial office, it is not intended to preclude from admission to trial, those who have not had the opportunity of obtaining public testimonials or degrees from public seminaries.[41]

OTHER ASPECTS OF PRESBYTERIAN EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

In 1755 the Synod of Philadelphia, desirous of furthering its educational program, decided to make application to the London trustees of schools for the education of Germans and others in the colonies for a sum of money to encourage the maintenance of the Synod's school. The petitioners in presenting their claim stated that they had opened "a public school about twelve years ago, when learning was under great dis-

[40] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 311.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 475.

couragements, and opportunities of education scarce in this and the neighboring provinces, and gave instructions gratis for some years, to all ranks and denominations that pleased to accept of the same." They added that continued instruction of those who could pay at low rates, and of the poor for nothing, had borne fruit in educating some "who have been of public service." It was pointed out that the College of Philadelphia would benefit if there were schools in the country under the direction of able masters. A belief that this aid would be given was expressed in view of the fact that "our school has been as free to the Germans as any other nation, and two of the present reformed German ministers, born in this country, were educated there, and because your petitioners understand that our mother church of Scotland have greatly promoted the charity under your management." The Synod, furthermore, proposed the removal of its school to Chestnut Level where some of the poor German settlers could have their children taught to read and write English free of charge, and a certain number of German youths would be taught Latin and Greek in preparation for the ministry "if they apply for this advantage." And the wealthy Germans along the Susquehanna River and the lower parts of the Conestoga would be encouraged to send their children to such a school.[42]

In response to this petition of the Synod of Philadelphia, the trustees resident in the colony, in view of the work done by Francis Alison in educating some Germans and of the financial aid received by the trustees from the mother church in Scotland, agreed to make a grant of twenty-five pounds currency for one year to aid the Synod's educational project on the condition that the school would be "under the same common government with other free schools" and open to visitation by the trustees or by their deputies who were to be chosen by the Synod; that four German or English youths who were

[42] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, pp. 220, 227.

recommended by the trustees should be prepared for the ministry, and ten poor German children should be taught English gratis, if that number availed themselves of the opportunity; and that a quarterly visitation by the deputy trustees with the master and with any of the clergy be allowed. The Synod committed itself to these terms, and selected the deputy trustees for this project. In 1758 the Synod was informed by William Smith, Provost of the College of Philadelphia and one of the trustees of the German fund, that the "trustees general" of the fund in England agreed to allow the sum of thirty pounds sterling annually for the Synod's school. The support from this fund was available till 1762, when Francis Alison reported to the Synod that the fund had been exhausted and no further assistance could be expected from that source.[43]

Still another phase of educational activity by the Synod appears in the practice of providing books for those who desired them. In 1755 the Synod was informed by letter that a number of gentlemen of Dublin "had sent a collection of books for the benefit of public schools, the use of students, and the encouragement of learning in this infant church, to be disposed of by the Synod in the best manner to answer these good ends." The Synod decided to establish a public library with these books. Those books suitable for use in the Synod's school in the country were to be lent to the master on the condition that he would be responsible for any loss of or damage to the books, and ministers who did not live beyond the Potomac could borrow the books under a time limit ranging from three months to a year. The trustees of the fund for ministers' widows were designated as the committee in whose care the books were to be placed, and were directed to select a librarian.[44] The interest of Presbyterian ministers was not restricted to library projects within their own ranks, as appears

[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 228, 231.
[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 219–220.

from a letter of Francis Alison, dated August 13, 1764, in which he endeavors to justify the method employed to guard library books from loss or theft.[45]

The frontier communities were likewise taken into consideration when the distribution of books was made for educating the people. In 1772 the Synod of New York and Philadelphia appointed a committee for the purpose of securing and distributing books among the poor, especially on the frontier. The books proposed for distribution were:

Bibles, Westminster Confessions of Faith, small edition of Vincent's Catechism, Doddridge's Rise and Progress of Religion, A Compassionate Address to the Christian World, Allein's Alarm to the Unconverted, Dr. Watts's Divine Songs for Children, and the Assembly's Catechism.

The titles themselves indicate that the aim was to direct the attention of the people to works of a religious character. Four

[45] Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, American Colonial Clergy, August 13, 1764. This is a letter sent "To Francis Hopkinson Esqr to be communicated to The Directors of the Library at the Indian Queen," and is as follows: "Both at this time & at y^r^ last meeting I was called to attend a committee of our Trustees; for which I hope you will be so kind as to excuse my absence. I have heard that clamours are raised, because ye books in our Library are not left open, as formerly, for ye inspection of all y^t^ chuse to attend at y^e^ Stated hours of giving out books. We know from experience our books cannot be safe this way. In all publick Librarys books are chaind, or lockd within Lattised doors, & we have done no more than what others have done, & what must be done to prevent loss of books. It is very hard to oblige a man to give attendance & secure all our books for 8, 10, or 12 pounds a year, while we allow the whole town, & even as many strangers as please to attend, to take down and misplace y^e^ books, while y^e^ Librarian is most engaged, & even to carry them away; possibly with no ill design, but only to read, & return them. The books must be secured, either in ye present way, or by Lattised doors, which would give less offence; or possibly y^e^ few that now complain may think proper to give Security for y^e^ Safety of y^e^ Library, & order it to stand exposed as in times past. I cannot on y^e^ strictest enquiry find that many complain, & Some of these have no Share with us. I fear we shall not be able to find any method, y^t^ will please all men; & would rather advise to continue y^e^ Law, than do any thing hastily. The best expedient that I can think of is to invite y^e^ complainers to a conference, & hear their proposals to Secure our books; they may possibly give, or receive Satisfaction, which I am persuaded would give great pleasure to y^e^ board, & to

Gentlemen

Your Obedient humble Servant

FRA. ALISON"

August y^e^ 13th 1764

years after the overture had been passed by the Synod the committee reported that the books on practical religion had been distributed as ordered.[46]

Although the chief concern of the presbyteries and synods had naturally been to provide an educated ministry, many young men preparing for other walks of life were trained in these schools and academies established and conducted by Presbyterian ministers and in some instances supported by donations from the presbyteries and synods. Some of the men who had been educated in these institutions became leaders in the public life of Pennsylvania as well as other provinces. The names of some of these men have been mentioned earlier in this chapter. Some of those who became active in the varied fields of human endeavor were: John Bayard, merchant and statesman; Benjamin Rush, physician, patriot, and humanitarian; Ebenezer Hazard, editor of historical records and postmaster-general; John Henry, Governor of Maryland; Alexander Martin, Governor of North Carolina; Thomas McKean, lawyer and statesman; and George Read, lawyer, senator, and chief justice of Delaware. The public service of these few representative men whose early educational background had been obtained in Presbyterian institutions of learning testifies to the character of that foundational work.

THE FINANCING OF PRESBYTERIAN EDUCATIONAL PROJECTS

A variety of methods for carrying on such educational projects was employed within the Presbyterian Church. But the ministers and the congregations were the foundations upon which these educational ventures were dependent. The former gave of their time and labors; the latter provided the buildings, usually small log buildings which were located near

[46] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, pp. 429, 441, 452, 476; Minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, V, 146.

the meetinghouses and served both as the pastors' studies and as academy buildings.

In the pioneering days of these educational projects the financial support had to be obtained from various sources. The privately conducted schools had to depend upon the fees that were paid by the parents of the pupils and upon contributions that were made by congregations for the support of "promising & hopeful youths" in their preparation for the ministry.[47] When the Synod of Philadelphia took over the school of Francis Alison, it ordered, in 1747, that each scholar should be charged twenty shillings annually as a fee; and both the Synod and the presbyteries appealed to the congregations for support in the maintenance of that school. As early as April 1744 the Presbytery of Donegal recommended "to all our Members that they with all convenient Speed, apply to their cong^{rs} to contribute to the defraying of the charges of sd school . . . , & that all vacant cong^{rs} be dealt with in like manner for the same purpose by their supplies." By June three members of the Presbytery had secured some contributions for the school, and the others were urged to be industrious in securing contributions, and those who supplied vacancies were advised to "Preach on Week Days and Conveen the People to Consult about the method of Gathering s^{d} Contribution." [48] In 1747 an order went out from the Synod to the effect that both settled and vacant congregations should

[47] "Records of Old Londonderry Congregation," *Jour. of Pres. Hist. Soc.*, VIII, 345. The session of that congregation "being apprized that there are several very promising & hopeful youths under y^{e} care & instruction of the Rev^{d} M^{r} Tennent at Neshaminey, in order to their being educated & trained up for y^{e} service of y^{e} church in y^{e} gospel-ministry, some of whom have not a sufficiency of their own to support them in y^{e} course of their preparatory studies, We think the yielding them our Assistance by contributing to their support for their carrying on & obtaining their pious, & so very needful as well as useful Design, one of the best ways in w^{c} our charity can be bestow'd: and therefore, being ready to contribute our own mite, we heartily recommend it to all such of our christian Brethren to whom these may come, to joyn us in y^{e} same, promising, y^{t} upon their giving what they allow this way, to any one of us, it shall be apply'd to y^{e} fores^{d} purpose." *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, pp. 194, 196; *History of Paxtang Presbyterian Church*, p. 247.

[48] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 283, 290.

raise a collection for the support of the Synod's school. In a meeting of the Presbytery of Donegal in the following year it was reported that all members had made collections for the school. From year to year, in response to the appeals of the Synod, collections were made and returned to the Synod.[49]

When the College of New Jersey became the authorized institution of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia after the union of the two synods in 1758, the Synod and the presbyteries solicited funds for the support of young men in their preparation for the ministry at Princeton from the congregations. In 1769 the trustees of the College of New Jersey made an appeal to the Synod for financial assistance. The Synod responded to the appeal by pursuing a more systematic method of obtaining subscriptions. The region over which the Synod exercised its jurisdiction was divided into districts. Pennsylvania was divided into three sections to which ministers were assigned. One section comprised York and Cumberland counties and that part of Lancaster County north of the town of Lancaster; another contained Chester County and the lower parts of Lancaster County; the third district included Bucks and Philadelphia counties. Ministers were designated to go through these districts to obtain subscriptions.[50]

In August 1769, the ministers of the Presbytery of Donegal in charge of obtaining subscriptions within that Presbytery that comprised one of the districts reported that they had had "considerable success" in securing subscriptions in most places; but in some instances congregations were slow in responding to the appeals, as John Roan and George Duffield reported in November of the same year. The subscription of the Middle Spring congregation for the support of the college amounted to one hundred and twenty-one pounds and twelve shillings, of which one hundred and seven pounds and nine shillings had been paid by May 1772. The congregation of Marsh

[49] *Ibid.*, I, 304, 305, 306; *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, pp. 192 ff.
[50] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, pp. 396–397.

Creek had paid seventy-two pounds on a subscription of one hundred and two pounds. Of the Carlisle subscription of forty pounds, thirty pounds had been paid by May of the same year. Other subscriptions were smaller. During this same period the Piney Creek congregation paid nine pounds and ten shillings of a fourteen pound subscription. The Toms Creek congregation was credited with having "chiefly paid" its subscription of forty pounds. The other paid subscriptions that were recorded ranged within the sums paid by the Piney Creek congregation and the Middle Spring congregation.[51]

To increase the amount of returns "for the education of poor and pious youth for the work of the ministry" the Presbytery of New Castle in April 1771 recommended to every vacant congregation within its bounds that asked for supplies that it should pay a sum of two pounds annually at the fall meeting of the Presbytery; that every minister of the Presbytery pay in one pound at the same time; and that "any gentleman willing to contribute to this pious design" might subscribe to make annual payments. Young men educated for the ministry by such a fund would be obligated to the Presbytery, and after being admitted to the ministry they would be obliged to preach at least a year in the vacancies within the Presbytery. If a young man did not enter the ministry within the Presbyterian Church he was to give a bond of payment of the entire sum, payable in five years to some member of the Presbytery.[52] This plan was submitted to the Synod in the same year, was approved by that body, and was recommended to the other presbyteries by the Synod. In the following year, when the Synod made inquiry about the action of the presbyteries in respect to the plan, it was found that some presbyteries had adopted the plan but that others had not taken action. In 1774 the Second Presbytery of Philadelphia, the Presbytery of New Castle, and the Presbytery of Donegal—all serving in Penn-

[51] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, II, 325, 346; III, 54, 61, 62.
[52] Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, III, 268–269.

sylvania—had complied "in some measure" with the recommendations for providing funds for educating young men for the ministry. But the First Presbytery of Philadelphia had not taken steps in favor of such a program. The Synod continued to recommend the plan to those presbyteries that had not adopted it and urged the others "to continue in prosecuting the pious design." [53]

Although congregations provided the major source from which funds were secured for maintaining a number of these schools, there were other sources that provided assistance. The close association of the colonial Presbyterian Church with the Presbyterian Churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland prompted the Synod of Philadelphia to select commissioners in 1739 to go to the British Isles as well as to New England to solicit aid for the Synod's proposed school; but the war with Spain hindered the execution of the plan.[54] The College of New Jersey, which did not become officially associated with the Presbyterian interests in Pennsylvania until the union of the synods of New York and Philadelphia occurred, did receive financial assistance for the education of young men for the ministry from England, Scotland, and Ireland through the endeavors of two Presbyterian ministers, Samuel Davies and Gilbert Tennent. Because of the service rendered by the Synod's school under the direction of the Reverend Sampson Smith in the education of some Germans, the trustees of the German schools supported this Presbyterian project for a number of years by annual donations.[55]

[53] *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* pp. 419, 438, 451.

[54] *Ibid.,* p. 149.

[55] Webster, *op. cit.,* pp. 260–261, 554–556; *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* pp. 219, 228, 231. Near the close of the colonial era the Reverend John Ewing, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, and Dr. Hugh Williamson of Philadelphia, both of whom were trustees of the Academy of Newark, Delaware, solicited funds abroad for the academy.

XII

CONTACTS OF PENNSYLVANIA PRESBYTERIANS THROUGH RELIGIOUS CHANNELS

OTHER FORMS OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN PENNSYLVANIA

Among the immigrants to Pennsylvania from the British Isles were some families that clung to the doctrines and practices of those Covenanters who adhered to the National Covenant of 1638 or the "Solemn League and Covenant for the Reformation and Defense of Religion" of 1643. It was during the Great Awakening that these conservative Scottish and Irish Covenanters, who were divided into the Reformed and Associate Reformed, made their appearance as distinct groups in Pennsylvania.[1] Within the ranks of the organized Presbyterian Church in Pennsylvania there was one who sympathized with the Covenanters, preached to them, and even sought to have the members of his congregation subscribe to the Solemn League and Covenant when they brought their children to be baptized. This was the Reverend Alexander Craighead of Middle Octoraro, a storm center in the Presbytery of Donegal during the Great Awakening.[2] His appeals for helpers to the Reformed Presbytery and the Anti-Burgher Associate Presbytery in Scotland brought no immediate results.

The arrival of the Reverend John Cuthbertson from Ire-

[1] J. B. Scouller, *History of the Big Spring Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church*, p. 7; W. W. Sweet, *The Story of Religions in America*, p. 209.
[2] Scouller, *op. cit.*, p. 4; Webster, *op. cit.*, pp. 434–437.

land in 1751 opened the way for an active ministry among the Covenanters and the formation of these scattered Reformed Presbyterians into congregations. This indefatigable missionary labored diligently throughout Pennsylvania and adjoining colonies to preach, to baptize, marry, and form into congregations these Reformed Presbyterians. Journeying on horseback through the wilderness, he traveled from southeastern Pennsylvania to the remote settlement of Miller's Run in Washington County until he had covered well over sixty thousand miles in his ministration to the Reformed Presbyterians who had settled within the other Presbyterian communities.[3] Before the close of the colonial era other Reformed Presbyterian ministers came to the colony, and in 1774 they joined with Cuthbertson to form the Reformed Presbyterian Presbytery of North America.

The Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, of which there was a following that made its way to Pennsylvania, grew out of a split that occurred in Scotland among the Covenanters. The adherents of this group formed themselves into the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania in 1753 under the guidance of two missionaries, Alexander Gellatly and Andrew Arnot. Members of this branch of Presbyterianism existed in groups large enough to be formed into congregations, or to be ministered to, in Philadelphia, Octoraro, Oxford, Pequea, Marsh Creek, Deep Run (Bucks County), Big Spring, East and West Conococheague, Muddy Creek (now Guinston, York County), Fermanagh (now Mexico, Juniata County), Mill Creek, and Harmon's Creek (now Service and Frankford, Beaver County).[4]

The presbyteries of the Associate and Reformed Presbyterians united in 1782 to form the Associate Reformed Church of America. Although the Covenanters were scat-

[3] "The Diary of the Rev. John Cuthbertson," pp. 11 ff.; Hanna, *The Scotch-Irish*, II, 70, 100.

[4] Hanna, *ibid.*, pp. 101, 102.

tered throughout numerous sections of Pennsylvania, their numbers were not sufficiently large to affect seriously the growth of the major group of Presbyterians. Overtures toward union which were made by the Synod of New York and Philadelphia to the Associate Presbytery in the early seventeen-seventies did not meet with success because the latter decided that the time was not ripe for union.[5]

BASIS OF CONTACTS WITH OTHER DENOMINATIONS

Although different denominations of colonial Pennsylvania sought to maintain their integrity, it was inevitable that circumstances would arise to lead to the joining of forces for the accomplishment of some spiritual projects. It is to the merit of the various denominations in a day when religious disparity ran high that they did join forces for the promotion of the spiritual life of the settlers of Pennsylvania.

One factor that contributed to harmony of action, but not to union, was a similarity in doctrinal tenets. In this respect the Presbyterians, the Dutch Reformed, and the German Reformed had much in common. The Baptists, likewise, had Calvinistic leanings. It was the Calvinistic teachings that created the common ground for harmonious action under certain conditions.[6] Not infrequently Presbyterians were indebted to ministers of other denominations for the opportunity of assembling together for religious services, and Presbyterian ministers also conducted services for members of other denominations. Baptists and Reformed ministers preached to Presbyterians at various times during the colonial era. The most striking instance of this coöperation is to be found in the ministrations of the Baptist minister, the Reverend John Watts, in Philadelphia before the Presbyterians had a minister to look after their spiritual needs. From 1695 to 1698 the

[5] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, pp. 417, 442, 460.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 176, 178; cf. the Heidelberg Catechism and the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms.

Presbyterians were indebted to this Baptist minister for the blessings of a Christian ministry. At a much later date it was the Baptists who provided meetinghouses for Presbyterians on the frontier of Pennsylvania, and the Reverend John McMillan, a Presbyterian minister, preached to both Baptists and Presbyterians in Baptist meetinghouses.[7]

The scarcity of ministers for supplying the Presbyterian vacancies opened the way for using ministers of other denominations and, when the occasion arose, resulted in the admission of such ministers as correspondents and members. In 1752 the Reverend Jonathan Dubois, a minister of "a low-Dutch Congregation in South Hampton," Bucks County, who had been granted eight sabbaths by his congregation to be used at his discretion and who could preach in English, was used by the Presbytery of Abington to supply Presbyterian congregations that had no ministers. In response to a request of the Presbytery of Philadelphia in 1769 he joined with that body as a correspondent. The Second Presbytery of Philadelphia, upon the request of the Reverend John William Kells, who presented certificates "of his Soundness in the Faith, and his regular Standing in the Church of Holland as a Gospel Minister" and who expressed his willingness to be subject to the Presbytery, admitted him as a member of the Presbytery in 1766. But in the following year he was dismissed from the Presbytery at his own request.[8]

At various times requests for examination and ordination of ministers were received by the Synod and presbyteries. When Henricus Goetschius desired along with "many people of the German nation" to be ordained to the ministry by the Synod of Philadelphia, that body, after finding his testimonials satisfactory, recommended him to the care of the Presbytery of Philadelphia for his ordination. Upon the re-

[7] "Journal of Reverend John McMillan . . . ," *Jour. of Pres. Hist. Soc.*, XV, 234, 236.

[8] Minutes of the Presbytery of Abington, pp. 7, 9; Minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, V, 116.

quest of the German Reformed Congregation of St. George's Church in Philadelphia the Second Presbytery of Philadelphia took that society under its jurisdiction for a brief period in 1767; and the Reverend John Jacob Ziefal, who became pastor of that congregation, was a member of that Presbytery during this period.[9] Presbyteries, however, did not always ordain men of other denominations to the ministry. The Presbytery of Donegal, in April 1742, considering an application from several "high Germans in Lancaster County, being Calvinists" to examine and ordain to the ministry a certain Templeman who had been fulfilling the office of minister for several years, and a letter warning against ordaining him from a Calvinist minister in Lancaster by the name of Ricor, refused to ordain him because he was not qualified, as some trials revealed, and because there were "other Ministers of his own Chh [Church] & nation, he ought rather to apply to them." [10]

Although the various denominations of Calvinistic foundations did coöperate in this fashion from time to time in colonial Pennsylvania, when the proposal for union between the German Reformed Church and the Presbyterian Church was made as early as 1744, obstacles appeared to discourage such a course. The reasons given by the Reverend John Philip Boehm and others of the Reformed Church were that few of their people understood the English language, and since their beliefs and church order were based upon the Heidelberg Catechism and the Articles of the Synod of Dort it would be regarded by most of their people as "a defection from our true religion" to depart from their forms of observance of baptism, the Lord's Supper, the consecration of marriages, and other religious practices.[11]

[9] *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* p. 133; Minutes of the Second Presbytery of Philadelphia, pp. 42, 45, 51, 56, 60.

[10] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 240.

[11] "Letters and Reports of the Rev. John Philip Boehm" in *Jour. Pres. Hist. Soc.,* VIII, 103, 104; J. H. Dubbs, "The Founding of the German Churches of Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* XVII, 247.

RELATIONS WITH ANGLICANS

The relations between adherents of the Church of England and Presbyterians provided the stage for the enactment of another phase of Pennsylvania colonial life in religion, politics, and education. Before the close of the seventeenth century a contact between these two religious groups was made in Philadelphia. In 1698 the Reverend Thomas Clayton, of the Church of England, stated that he had "often talked with the Presbyterian Minister [Jedidiah Andrews] and find him such as I could wish." But he added that "he is so far from growing upon us that he threatens to go home in the Spring." At this time Clayton warned Andrews that the practice of the Baptists and Presbyterians, in holding their services in the same building which belonged to the Barbadoes Trading Company, even though one held his service in the morning and the other in the afternoon, was opening the way for a schism "against himself as well as me." [12] Whether or not Andrews was influenced by this admonition is not clear. But it is significant that the breach between the Baptists and Presbyterians which resulted in the former removing to another place of worship occurred less than a fortnight before Clayton wrote the letter containing this information. Although some of his members were visiting the Presbyterian meeting, Clayton did not believe that there was any immediate danger of an increase of Presbyterians at the expense of the membership of his church. Even the Reverend Thomas Barton as late as 1764 claimed that the Presbyterian disposition to change and to be "led away by every kind of Doctrine" was a hindrance to their increase except for the arrival of immigrants from the north of Ireland.[13] At any rate the increase of Presbyterians from that source had reached such proportions by 1764

[12] W. S. Perry (editor), *American Colonial Church Records*, II, 15.
[13] *Ibid.*, II, 367.

that their strength had begun to cause considerable uneasiness among the provincial authorities.

But there were other Anglican clergymen who were concerned over the inroads that the Presbyterian Church was making upon their ranks. In 1742 the Reverend Richard Backhouse, writing from Chester, Pennsylvania, stated that "this Province is now becoming exceeding populous, and there are many large Congregations of Church people who being quite destitute of Church of England Ministers are to their great grief obliged to herd among Presbyterians." [14] According to the information that was furnished Backhouse by the Reverend Richard Sankey, the Presbyterian minister at Hanover, Hanover township, Lancaster County (now in Dauphin County), the New Side movement did not seriously affect Sanckey's congregation because "he was happy in having his Congregation chiefly to consist of Church of England People who gave themselves up to none of those wild notions & enthusiastick ravings that some people practised so much and were so fond of. So that I'll assure you, in this Province with relation to our Church the Harvest is great & the Labourers very few." [15] According to Hugh Neill, a missionary of the Church of England who was located at Oxford, Pennsylvania, the state of the Church of England in America "was in a declining and dangerous condition" by 1763 as a result of the activities of the Dissenters, particularly the Presbyterians. This Presbyterian control, he claimed, had even made its way into the College of Philadelphia which had dwindled "since Dr. Smith's absence, into a mere Presbyterian Faction: that the numbers of Presbyterians amongst the Trustees increases, that of 15 Teachers in the College all are Presbyterians except Dr. Smith, and that they are endeavoring to destroy his influence and worm him out." [16]

[14] W. S. Perry, *op. cit.*, II, 232.
[15] *Ibid.*, II, 233.
[16] *Ibid.*, II, 389, 390.

There were occasions, however, when individuals deserted the ranks of Presbyterianism to join forces with the Anglican Church. Richard Backhouse reported in 1728 that he had "gained to the Church a great deal of Dissenters from some of which the Presbyterian Minister has hitherto receiv'd a great deal of his maintainance" since his arrival in Chester.[17] But there was little danger that such a movement would assume large proportions, because the Presbyterian Church was made up largely of Scotch-Irish adherents whose experiences in Ireland at the hands of the Church of England, and whose religious principles and polity, served to discourage such a course.

How unwilling Presbyterians in America were to being subjected to the polity of the Church of England became apparent in 1760. In that year a complaint by the clergy of the Church of England was brought before the Synod of New York and Philadelphia on the grounds that some members of that body were meddling in their affairs. The basis for the complaint was a paper signed by some members of the Synod and a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury bearing on the settlement of a Mr. McClanaghan. Since the paper had been signed by the moderator and other members of the Synod, the clergy of the Church of England regarded it as a synodical act. To assure them that this was not the case the Synod drew up a minute in 1760 in which they set forth the fact that the paper had not been read before the Synod nor had it been signed as a synodical body, but was a private matter over which the Synod did not exercise control, and in 1761 another minute expressed the opinion that the signers of the paper had acted hastily and improperly, especially in the attitude assumed toward the induction of McClanaghan, but the induction "in a legal sense is what we disapprove as contrary to our principles." At the same time the accused members declared "that by induction they did not mean a forcible ob-

[17] *Ibid.*, II, 161.

trusion of a minister upon the people against their will, which their principles as Presbyterians would never allow them to propose; but only the Archbishop's influence in settling the gentleman in question, with the consent of the majority of said congregation, which they understood was the true state of the case." [18]

This occurrence brought to the fore the issue of establishing bishops in America, against which the Presbyterians were to become the outstanding opponents. The matter had assumed such importance in the newspapers of both England and the colonies by 1763 that according to Richard Peters it had aroused "much jealousy among the Dissenters," of whom only a few saw it "in a proper light." He asserted that this opposition came chiefly from the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, whose "ministers are in general men of small talents & mean education, & are perfectly subservient for their maintenance to their Congregations, & therefore are obliged to humor & give all up to a popular Presbytery." But in spite of this so-called subservience Richard Peters had to admit that the ministers "are fond to a madness of these popular forms of Government and would dislike Bishops on any footing." [19] In 1764 the Reverend Thomas Barton believed that the time was ripe for the establishment of Episcopacy in America because the leading Quakers desired to use it as a check to the growth of Presbyterianism, and because the Presbyterians would not object because of the assistance the Church would afford them against the Quaker combinations. But he overlooked the deep-rooted animosity that Presbyterians in America had for Established Episcopacy. In spite of the fact that Presbyterians were in disfavor with the provincial authorities, they were not willing to make an alliance with a group whose church polity was opposed to their conception of religious liberty.

[18] *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* pp. 306, 311–312.
[19] W. S. Perry, *op. cit.,* II, 394.

Hugh Neill reported in 1766 that Francis Alison, whom he regarded as the leader of Presbyterians in Pennsylvania, did not object to primitive Episcopacy, which was "Episcopacy without any civil power annexed to it, as he explained himself, and that he would be well contented if there was a Bishop of this sort in every Province in America." [20] But in the minds of Presbyterians such a type was not within the plan of the exponents of Episcopacy, and the opposition continued to grow. Dr. William Smith, Provost of the College of Philadelphia at the same time that Francis Alison was vice-provost, in commenting on this growing opposition, stated in 1768 that "the Presbyterians from one end of the Continent to the other are attacking the Church about American Bishops." A few months later he added that many Quakers "declare themselves highly desirous of seeing the Church flourish, for a Fear of being runover by Presbyterians." [21] In this same year the Reverend William Murray claimed that the "High-Flying Presbyterians" opposed the establishment of bishops in America on the grounds of the close association with monarchy and subordination against which their fathers a century before had taken such a definite stand. Public interest in this issue was aroused during this year by a series of articles that appeared in the newspapers of the day. The series under the caption of "The Centinel" in the *Pennsylvania Journal*, and of "The Anatomist" in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, set forth the major issues in this controversy.[22]

In this manner another grievance against the mother country was found near the close of the colonial era by Presbyterians who, as exponents of independency, looked upon the attempts to establish Episcopacy in America as a threat to

[20] *Ibid.*, II, 405.

[21] *Ibid.*, II, 427; Rev. Dr. William Smith to Rev. Dr. Daniel Burton, Philadelphia, October 22, 1768, S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.) B 21, no. 261.

[22] Rev. William Murray to Rev. Dr. Daniel Burton, Reading, Pa., Sept. 25, 1768. S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.) B 21, no. 106. For a careful treatment of the question see Arthur Lyon Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies*, pp. 195–214.

both their religious and their political liberty. Although Church of England men and Presbyterians had been associated in certain projects, such as education, this issue threatened to sever the former friendly relations that had existed between these two religious groups.

QUAKERS AND PRESBYTERIANS

The doings of Presbyterians brought them into contact with another important sect in colonial Pennsylvania. This group consisted of the Quakers, who had maintained their political supremacy from the time of the founding of the colony. Permitted the right of settlement on the basis of religious freedom, the Presbyterians of Pennsylvania were thrown into contact with the Quakers as a result of the former's disregard of certain rights claimed by the Quakers on legal grounds rather than religious. The pivotal point of contention between these two groups during the period of settlement was the land question.

Long before the migration of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians to Pennsylvania had begun on a large scale, these people had won a reputation as a land-hungry people with a tenacity of purpose that had been nurtured and developed in Presbyterian discipline. In 1681 the inhabitants of northern Ireland were characterized as "the Northern Presbyterians and Fanatics, able-bodied, hearty and stout men, where one may see 3 or 400 at every meetinghouse on Sundays and all the North is inhabited with these, which is the most populous place of all Ireland by far. They are very numerous and greedy after land." [23] The correspondence of James Logan and of Richard Peters bears testimony to the fact that these Presbyterians had not lost this insatiable hunger for land. As these people, some of whom Logan characterized as "truly honest" and others of whom he described as "capable of the highest villanies," arrived in Pennsylvania, they rarely

[23] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1680–1681*, p. 134.

presented proposals for purchasing land, but pushed to the Pennsylvania-Maryland boundary region in Chester and Lancaster counties and established themselves "any where with or without leave, and on any spott that they think will turn out grain to afford them a maintenance." [24] They settled on this valuable land at a time when it was practically impossible to regulate settlement because it was the region in dispute between the Penns and Baltimores and because it was difficult to fix a price for the land.[25] By 1729 Logan feared that, if some settlement could not readily be made in respect to the disputed land, these newcomers would be so thoroughly entrenched by their numbers that "they will make themselves Proprietors of the Province." [26]

As the land in the extreme southeastern part of Pennsylvania was occupied, the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians pushed to the interior along the eastern shore of the Susquehanna River where they started to make settlements. At the time of their arrival in the seventeen-twenties some apprehension as to the outcome of a misunderstanding with the Indians prompted the Pennsylvania authorities to permit settlements on the frontier because these settlers "might prove a considerable Security" against the Indians.[27] But it was not long until this frontier movement got beyond the control of the authorities. Many of these settlers, failing to make application to the authorities for permission to settle, squatted upon land that was owned by the Penns.

James Logan was confronted with the necessity of negotiating with these people in behalf of the Penns in order to secure payments from them. When in 1730 Logan objected to the seizures made by these squatters along the Swatara and on the borders of Donegal included in Conestoga Manor which had been regularly surveyed for the proprietor's use, they

[24] Logan Papers, Letter Books, IV, 148, 168.
[25] *Ibid.*, IV, 185, 198.
[26] *Ibid.*, III, 302.
[27] *Ibid.*, III, 279.

countered by "alledging that it was against the Laws of God and Nature that so much Land should lie idle while so many Christians wanted it to labour on and raise there Bread." [28] As the matter got beyond the control of the provincial authorities, appeals were sent out to some active Presbyterians to aid in putting a stop to the disorderly seizures. James Logan called upon the Presbyterian minister of Donegal, James Anderson, to exert his efforts "as thy Christian Endeavours have hitherto been highly Serviceable to thy Hearers themselves as well as to the Publick Tranquillity that thou wouldst advise & prevail with these unhappy People to desist in time & obey the Magistrates who have now strict Orders from the Govern[r] to proceed immediately against them." [29] In the hope of receiving help from the people of Donegal in enforcing the orders of the magistrates, Logan appealed to Andrew Galbraith, a Presbyterian elder who was active in the political life of Lancaster County, to exert his efforts in conjunction with those of James Anderson to impress upon the people of Donegal their responsibility to assist the sheriff, when called upon, in the expulsion of the intruders from Conestoga Manor. The result was that the sheriff of Lancaster County, accompanied by an adequate number of men, went into Conestoga Manor and destroyed about thirty of the cabins which had been put up two or three weeks before, but which had not been occupied before the authorities took such a drastic step.[30]

Richard Peters, Logan's successor, was also confronted with the problem of handling the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian squatters, and was not as favorably disposed to their interests as Logan had been. In 1737 Richard Peters claimed that the people who had settled in Paxtang Manor without warrants were not legally entitled to remain in that region. In view of the fact that a number of people of Chester County wanted to

[28] Logan Papers, Letter Books, III, 339.
[29] *Ibid.*, IV, 213.
[30] *Ibid.*, III, 339; IV, 215.

make purchases of land in the manor he directed that "all such psons [persons] immediately remove & in Case of refusal that You [Edward Smout] take to your assistance Justice Hendricks & Cause the Sherr[r] [sheriff] of the County with a suff[t]. Posse to Execute what the Law Directs in such Cases." [31] In another instance a warrant had been issued to Thomas McKee in June 1736 for two hundred acres of land located north of the Conodoguinet Creek. Some time later this land was granted by warrant to Samuel Thompson and Daniel Williams for the use of the Presbyterian Church in that district, namely, Pennsboro township.[32] Peters looked upon this transaction in disgust because he claimed that he had been imposed upon by men who knew the situation, and ordered that the land should be surveyed in behalf of Thomas McKee and in case of opposition from the other claimants the surveyor should resort to lawful steps in the execution of his office.

For years after the aforesaid incident Richard Peters was confronted with the necessity of handling cases of encroachment by individuals, some of whom were affiliated with the Presbyterian Church. In some instances the government officials believed that the matter was so critical that drastic methods were employed in dealing with these squatters. When a group of squatters settled on land along the Big Juniata—land that was prized by the Indians as some of their best hunting grounds—the authorities took some into custody and

[31] Letter Books, Richard Peters, 1737–1750, No. 8, p. 5.

[32] *Ibid.*, No. 8, p. 10. In commenting on the situation Peters stated: "let them know that I was extremely imposed upon in that Warrant and that I know they have made their Brays of the manner in which they imposed upon me, and that if I had known it to be the Land before granted to Thomas M[c]Kee I should have refused them— But the whole proceeding tho' very unbecoming men concerned to take up Land for Religious Uses is such as might have been expected from Randle Chambers; a man of his Character (as it has been many times told me) would not I know stick at a piece of fraud, but that Wilson who if I remember right brought me a Letter from Parson Anderson shoud when he was asking a favour at the same time industriously conceal from me the true Situation of the Land & never once tell me that there had been a Contest about it is what I own surprizes me very much and makes me entertain a very ill opinion of him. . . ."

burnt the cabins of others. Other trespassers who had settled on lands in the valley of Sherman Creek were placed under bond to appear at the county court of Cumberland that was to be held at Shippensburgh, and were ordered to remove immediately "with all their Servants, Cattle, and Effects." In another instance the justices of Cumberland County reported that the people of Tuscarora Path in the Big Cove and along the Aughwick had agreed to submit to the order of removal, and that some of the cabins had been burned. Another group who had settled in Path Valley were summoned and convicted of trespassing. They surrendered their log houses, of which "eleven were burned to the ground." [33]

Sometimes trespassers did not submit readily to the hand of the law that sought to evict them from the lands upon which they had settled. Settlers on some land in the Manor of Maske, located in what is now Adams County and reserved by the Penns, forbade the surveyors to continue with the surveying of the land. When the surveyors persisted, the settlers, about seventy in number, broke the surveyors' chain and drove them away. Shortly after this event quite a number of the settlers were indicted. But a compromise was finally reached by which the settlers were permitted to lease and purchase the titles to the land for a nominal sum.[34] Although a large number of the restless and land-hungry Presbyterians and others who joined in this westward movement settled without titles to the land, others took out warrants and made payments on moderate terms.[35]

THE INDIAN QUESTION IN RELATION TO THE EARLY SETTLEMENTS

Closely associated with this problem of land seizures that caused the Quaker authorities so much concern was the matter

[33] *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, V, 440–444.
[34] Hanna, *op. cit.*, II, 63, 64.
[35] W. R. Shepherd, *History of Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania*, p. 52.

of Indian relations. Although the government officials had invited the incoming Scotch-Irish Presbyterians to move to the frontier with a view of providing protection to the older settlements, the move acted as a boomerang to the authorities because the newcomers settled upon lands claimed by the Indians before the authorities had purchased the land from them. It was needful for the provincial officials to move more rapidly in opening the way for settlement if they expected to avert further embarrassment where these aggressive settlers were involved.

Presbyterian settlements along the Susquehanna River, especially those in Donegal township, were made before the close of the second decade of the eighteenth century. The government of Pennsylvania had granted its consent to the establishment of these settlements at a time when there were "some apprehensions of a misunderstanding at that time wth y^{e} Indians, agst [against] whom we thought those People might prove a considerable Security." [36] When James Logan commented upon the activity of these newcomers in settling in the back country, he accused them of settling "themselves on what Land they can find, and they resolve to have no regard to Indian Claims or almost to any other." He expressed great concern because John Penn had not arrived in the colony to give the Indians assurances of the safety of their lands. With difficulty the Indians were kept in check as their lands were being "invaded by Swarms of Strangers that they have an Aversion to, for the Irish are generally rough to them, and from hence we can expect no less than a breach with them unless seasonably prevented." [37]

As the increasing numbers of settlers along the eastern shore of the Susquehanna River were becoming restive under the spell of the unoccupied land to the west of that river, the Indians became alarmed. As early as 1727 James Logan as-

[36] Logan Papers, Letter Books, III, 279.
[37] *Ibid.*, III, 304.

sured Captain Civility, who requested that settlers should not be allowed beyond the Susquehanna River, that the government did not want the colonists to settle there. He informed Civility that "we shall be very well pleased, if y^e^ Indians will hinder all Christians or white people, whatsoever English, Dutch & of all other nations, from making settlem^ts^ [settlements] on y^e^ farther or West side of Sasquehannah, J. Hendricks & his Companion only excepted, till such time, as we shall further talk w^th^ you about y^e^ matter." He further advised Civility that in return for hindering settlement by Pennsylvanians beyond the Susquehanna he expected the Indians to keep the Marylanders out of that country also.[38]

As the pressure of expansion from the older centers was felt by the Presbyterians, and as the inducement of realizing on their lands by sale presented itself, many of these people prepared to move elsewhere with the subsequent danger of destroying the integrity of some Presbyterian communities. One of the most significant instances of this trend appeared in the Donegal settlement about ten years after its establishment as a religious community. Once more James Logan is the source from which the information on the nature of this movement has been obtained. During the period that negotiations were being carried on for the purpose of arriving at an agreement concerning the unpurchased lands occupied by the people of Donegal, James Logan in a letter of March 2, 1730/1 (O. S.), to James Anderson, Andrew Galbraith, and others wrote as follows:

About 8 dayes Since I rec-d [received] Yours of the 11^th^ Ult. representing that you the Inhabitants of Donegal had to your disadvantage in other respects chose to sitt down together there on a view of having in time a Settlem^t^ of so many families of your own Profession of religious Principles as might be requisite to form a Religious Society and to Support a Minister in which you have had the desired

[38] Logan Papers, Letter Books, III, 106–107.

Success; But that now some unstay'd People having an Inclination to remove from thence & leave your congregation with a regard to their own private Interest only, are for disposing of their Improvem[ts] to the best Bidders who are generally the Dutch: by which means Strangers to your Profession are Like to be admitted into your Bounds, and you may in consequence be disappointed in your first principal View. . . .[39]

In response to their request for advice on the matter Logan informed them that the order that "no Strangers should be admitted to settle within your Bounds" had been issued and that the purchase of land could be made only by those who entered it first either by license from the commissioners or by the designation of those in charge of directing the location of settlements in the township. Hence the newcomers would be deprived of the right to purchase the land although they had the right to buy the improvements. Such a policy may have temporarily maintained the stability of a community, but the trek to new regions was inevitable.

With the opening of the fourth decade of the century the restrictive policy of the government was unable to check the migration across the Susquehanna River to the fertile valleys beyond that river. By November 1734 the Presbyterians had settled in such numbers upon the land, still claimed by the Indians, that the Presbytery of Donegal directed the Reverend Alexander Craighead to serve "over the river." Thereafter the expansion of Presbyterians into this region developed rapidly, and the Indian problem grew in significance, as indicated in the subsequent chapter.

[39] *Ibid.*, III, 170.

XIII

PRESBYTERIANS IN POLITICAL AFFAIRS

A PERIOD OF LIMITED POLITICAL ACTIVITY

Coming to a colony where the government had already been established by the Quakers, the Presbyterians directed their interests and energies in providing themselves with shelter and in building up settlements on the frontier. For several decades their struggle to conquer a wilderness and to supply their immediate needs restricted any desire that might have existed to break down the political supremacy of the Quakers. The destitution that accompanied many from the Old World was not readily overcome in the New World. But their experiences were preparing them for the rôle that they were to play in the affairs of the province at a later date, and their rapid increase in numbers made their influence in provincial affairs inescapable. The unrestricted enjoyment of religious freedom on an expanding frontier developed that spirit of democracy which was to make the Presbyterians one of the major group of opponents to the British in the closing decade of the colonial era.[1]

Although many of the Presbyterians who came to Pennsylvania were so poverty-stricken that they could not take part in the political affairs of the province, there were some who did find their worldly goods sufficiently abundant to open the

[1] Frederick D. Stone, "The First Congress of the Scotch Irish in America," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XIV, 70.

way for active participation in the political life of the province as individuals rather than as a party. As Presbyterian communities developed and new counties were formed on the frontier, local offices, such as coroner, justice of the peace, and sheriff, were held by Presbyterians. And as early as 1732, three years after Lancaster County had been set up, Andrew Galbraith, the first ruling elder of the Donegal Presbyterian Church, defeated the Quaker, John Wright, for a seat in the Provincial Assembly as a result of the vigorous electioneering of his wife.[2] But since the frontier counties were allowed only two representatives each in the Assembly, and other groups, such as the Germans, made up the population in the frontier counties, the Presbyterian influence in the Assembly was unable to cope with the Quaker majority.

As the Presbyterian communities became more numerous, they began to control affairs in the frontier counties, and from time to time Presbyterians, individually or collectively, reminded the Quaker Assembly and colonial officials before 1756 that they could not be disregarded in the conducting of provincial affairs. Since Philadelphia was the seat of organized Presbyterianism, occasions that led Presbyterians to inject their influence into the political life arose. Upon the arrival of Thomas Penn in the province in 1732 the Presbyterian ministers of the Synod presented an address to him. After opening their address with an expression of loyalty to the king and his family, the ministers assured Penn of their gratitude "for our Religious Liberties and Privileges (of all Things most dear to us) so we rejoice in the grounded Hopes of a continued Fruition of the same Felicities, under your Honour's Protection, as we have hitherto enjoy'd, and yet expect under the wise and equal Administration of the Honourable Governor Gordon." [3] The proprietor in return assured them of the con-

[2] Samuel Evans, "History of Donegal Church," *Columbia Herald,* January 9, 1878.

[3] *Pennsylvania Gazette,* Sept. 18–26, 1732.

tinuance of the same policy that safeguarded the enjoyment of religious rights and privileges. Two years later, however, the Synod took a stand in opposition to a practice of the governor. It decreed that no Presbyterian minister in the province and the lower counties should marry individuals on a license issued by the governor until "they [the licenses] are altered in such a manner as hath no peculiar respect to the ministers of the Church of England, nor oblige us to any of the forms and ceremonies peculiar to that church." [4] In 1739 the Presbytery of Donegal, initiating the action, joined with the Presbytery of New Castle in presenting an address to the Provincial Assembly in response to a supplication "to releive many in our bounds as to their conscientious scruples about the English mode of Swearing in Judgement," which petition was granted.[5] Further interest in the political affairs of the colony was indicated in 1747 when the Synod of Philadelphia and the Second Presbyterian Congregation, in addresses to the departing Lieutenant Governor George Thomas, expressed their appreciation for the maintenance of the civil and religious rights of man wherein the liberty of conscience was recognized as "the Valuable & distinguishing privilege of Every British Subject. . . ." [6]

There were occasions, however, when the provincial authorities found it necessary because of religious differences to bring pressure upon Presbyterians who held civil offices. A number of petitions complaining of maladministration by justices were presented to the governor of the province in 1748 by inhabitants of Chester County. The Council found one justice guilty of "an imprudent & unjustifiable Part" in the county, where "there were Parties subsisting among the Presbyterians in that part of the Country about Points of Religion which had but too much imbitter'd the Spirits of the Magis-

[4] *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 111.
[5] Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal, I, 176–177, 179.
[6] *Pennsylvania Archives* (1st. series), I, 743–745.

trates of that Persuasion." [7] These differences occurred during the period of controversy between the New Side and the Old Side. From the very beginning of Presbyterian immigration the problem of handling the thousands who squatted upon lands without any regard to ownership concerned the provincial authorities throughout this period.[8]

In these various respects the government was cognizant of the existence of Presbyterians before the French and Indian War. But there was no concerted action among Presbyterians during this period to sway or control the activities of the government. As a matter of fact the Quaker oligarchy in the Assembly had intrenched itself by maintaining the preponderance of representation on its side. Conditions, however, were soon to arise to make Presbyterian demands on the government of the colony more importunate and their activity more concerted in an effort to gain a larger measure of control in the affairs of the province.

PRESBYTERIAN EXPANSION AND THE INDIAN PROBLEM

The rapid expansion of Presbyterian and other settlements on the frontier before the removal of the Indian titles gave the Indians sufficient grounds, with encouragement from the French, to resent the encroachments of the English colonists. The indecisiveness of the preceding wars between the French and the English for control in America, and the clash of interests of the French and English in the Ohio River Valley provided the occasion for the opening of the French and Indian War, one phase of which was actively waged on the Pennsylvania frontier. When the safety of the frontier settlements was endangered and the provincial authorities failed to provide adequate protection, sufficient incentives were provided to induce the frontier settlers to exert some influence

[7] *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, V, 378.

[8] The extent to which Presbyterians created a problem for the provincial authorities by squatting is indicated in chapter twelve of this work.

upon the political affairs of the province. Incursions by the Indians into the regions occupied by the frontier settlers were easily made along the rivers and streams, particularly the Susquehanna River. Lack of fortifications, supplies, arms, and ammunition among the settlers in the scattered frontier settlements exposed them to the depredations of the marauding Indian bands. Demands for protection from Presbyterian centers were sent to the provincial authorities when the danger of Indian attack threatened.

During the summer of 1753 the inhabitants of the townships of Donegal, Paxton, Hanover, and Derry, still within the bounds of Lancaster County, petitioned the provincial government for assistance in order to be ready to defend that country in the event of war with the Indians. The petitions of the succeeding years became more and more importunate as the dangers increased.[9] The reversals suffered by George Washington in 1754 and by General Edward Braddock in 1755 in their expeditions against the French and Indians opened the Pennsylvania frontier to attack. And in the fall of 1755 the storm broke upon the scattered inhabitants of the frontier. Among the first to suffer from the Indian attacks were the settlers in the valleys of the Big Cove and Little Cove creeks. Those who escaped fled for safety to Fort Steel,

[9] *Pennsylvania Archives* (1st. series), II, 236; *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania,* VI, 131, 132.

"The humble Petition of the Inhabitants of the Townships of Pextang, Derry, and Hanover, in Lancaster County, humbly sheweth:

"That your Petitioners being settled on and near the Sasquehannah apprehended themselves in great Danger from the French and French Indians, as it is in their Power several Times in the Year to transport themselves, with Ammunition, Artillery, and every necessary, down the said River; and their Conduct of late to the neighbouring Provinces encreases our Dread of a speedy Visit from them, as We are as near and convenient as the Provinces already attacked, and are less capable of defending Ourselves, as We are unprovided with Arms and Ammunition and unable to purchase them. A great Number are warm and active in those Parts for the Defence of themselves and Country, were they enabled so to do. . . . We your Petitioners therefore humbly pray that your Honour would take our distressed Condition into Consideration and make such Provision timeously for Us as may prevent Ourselves and Families being destroyed. . . ."

which consisted of a stockade that surrounded the Presbyterian meetinghouse of the Upper West Conococheague congregation.[10] Thereafter the Presbyterians played an important part in the defense of the frontier against the Indians.

From the very beginning of the struggle Presbyterian ministers played an active part in the organizing of companies for purposes of defense. The Reverend John Elder, known as "the fighting Parson," the Reverend John Steel, and the Reverend Andrew Bay were active in Lancaster, Cumberland, and York counties respectively, in the defense of the frontier. The Reverend Charles Beatty served as a chaplain to the frontier forces, and the Reverend John Blair was president of the General Council for Cumberland County that met in October 1755 at Shippensburg, to provide adequate defense for the frontier by the erection of five large forts.[11] As important as the ministers in aiding in the defense of the frontier were the laymen of the Presbyterian Church. The companies that were formed consisted of many Presbyterian laymen who realized that only by such service could their families and homes be protected. Presbyterian laymen also aided in the organization of the forces for defense. Such men as Colonel John Armstrong,[12] an elder in the Presbyterian Church, and James Galbreath were second to none in the defense of the Pennsylvania frontier.

Within a few years the devastating incursions of the Indians had changed conditions on the frontier. Those who had escaped captivity and massacre at the hands of the Indians were seized with panic, and deserted their homes to seek safety in the more thickly populated sections, such as York, Shippensburg, and Carlisle. In April 1756 the Reverend John Steel, holding the rank of captain in the Pennsylvania forces, re-

[10] Scotch-Irish Soc. in America, *Proceedings,* 1901, p. 263.

[11] *Pennsylvania Archives* (1st. series), II, 462, 623; III, 288, 297, 400; Webster, R., *op. cit.,* p. 573; *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* pp. 275, 282; Lamberton Scotch-Irish Collection, I, 23.

[12] *Pennsylvania Gazette,* February 17, 1757.

ported to Governor Robert H. Morris that the available forces, arms, and supplies were inadequate to defend the country and that "our Country is in the utmost Confusion, Great Numbers have Left the County [Cumberland], & many are preparing to follow." In August of the same year James Galbreath stated that even the country around Derry on the east side of the Susquehanna River was being depopulated by the daily withdrawal of people from those parts. And the Reverend Thomas Barton, of the Church of England, declared that Cumberland County had become so deserted in sections that the frontier had receded to the vicinity of Marsh Creek in York County (now in Adams County).[13]

The frontier settlers, exposed to such distressing conditions, felt that governmental aid was more urgently needed than ever before. Unfortunately for their safety, several factors served to delay the granting of aid to the distressed frontier. In the first place, the Quaker opposition to war, especially against the Indians, with whom they sought to maintain peaceful relations, frustrated the demands for arms, supplies, and troops. Then a protracted struggle between the proprietary interests and the Assembly was an additional cause of inaction. But only as the distress on the frontier marshaled public opinion in opposition to the provincial government was the Quaker supremacy in the Assembly broken down and steps taken to remove the obstacles to furnishing the frontier with the necessary supplies.

During the latter part of 1755 and the early part of 1756, when the frontier was at the mercy of the ravaging bands of Indians and the settlements were inadequately protected because of the Quaker attitude, the enemies of the Quakers and the proprietary government agitated for the revocation of the colonial charter and for the creation of a crown colony. The petitions from the frontier, the demands of Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia and others for crown control over Pennsyl-

[13] *Pennsylvania Archives* (1st. series), II, 623, 740, 756.

vania and Maryland, and the interference of the English ministry induced the Penns to make a free gift of £5,000 for defense and to allay the controversy over the taxation of the proprietary estates in Pennsylvania and the Assembly of Pennsylvania to pass a supply bill granting £60,000 in paper currency to the king's use. To avoid the appropriation of funds for direct warlike purposes the stipulation in the measure was for the use of the funds in the maintenance of friendly relations with the Indians, in the relief of suffering and distressed settlers, and for "other purposes for the king's Service." The funds for disbursement were placed in the hands of a committee opposed to war.[14] Although a militia bill was passed by the Assembly, its provisions for voluntary enlistments, for the election of officers by the troops, and for service on the frontier at no greater distance than three days' journey from the inhabited parts of the province, or for service in garrison duty for a period not to exceed three weeks without the enlisted man's agreement, did not meet the needs for warring against the elusive Indian bands.

The inadequate provisions of the Assembly to alleviate the frontier difficulties were met with protests from the back-country settlers and with disapproval by the Board of Trade. A threat of the Board of Trade to exclude by an act of Parliament all Quakers from the Assembly by requiring an oath by all representatives led the London Quakers to promise that they would persuade the colonial Quakers not to run at the next election.[15] As a result of the concerted protests the Quaker power in the Pennsylvania Assembly was temporarily broken in 1756. This temporary check to Quaker dominance, however, did not remove the obstacles to an efficient conducting of the frontier struggle. The controversy between the Assembly and the governors along constitutional lines continued,

[14] W. T. Root, *Relations of Pennsylvania with the British Government, 1696–1765*, pp. 306–308.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 310–311.

and the disparity in representation in the Assembly between the eastern and frontier counties remained. In 1760 the Pennsylvania Assembly consisted of twenty-six members from Bucks, Chester, and Philadelphia counties, including the City of Philadelphia, and of ten members from the five frontier counties of Lancaster, York, Cumberland, Berks, and Northampton. At this time there were 16,221 taxables in the eastern counties, while the five frontier counties contained 15,443 taxable. Although petition after petition for the increase in representatives from the frontier counties and for the erection of new counties on the frontier was presented to the Assembly up to the close of the colonial period, only the counties of Bedford, Northumberland, and Westmoreland were admitted in 1771, 1772, 1773 respectively, with one vote each in the Assembly. Not until the spring of 1776 was additional representation granted to the frontier counties; but the eastern interests still held a slight majority in the Assembly.[16]

This lack of confidence in the frontier by the provincial authorities was likewise apparent in its attitude towards the frontier leaders. A letter of the Reverend John Elder to Richard Peters in July 1757 pointed out some of the vital issues on the frontier that he desired Richard Peters to submit to the governor. This was a follow-up letter to a petition that the inhabitants had sent to the provincial authorities. This communication was prompted on the grounds that "It's well known that Representations from the back Inhabitants, have but little weight with the Gentlem[n] in power, they looking on us, either as uncapable of forming just notions of things, or as biass'd by Selfish Views; however I'm Satisfy'd that you Sir have more favourable conceptions of us. . . ." [17] Such an attitude could not fail to tax the patience of the frontiersmen to the breaking point, which, however, was not reached until

[16] Charles H. Lincoln, *The Revolutionary Movement in Pennsylvania, 1760–1776*, pp. 47–52; Egle, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

[17] Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, American Colonial Clergy, 1757; *Pennsylvania Archives* (1st. series), III, 251.

some years later as a result of the failure of the government to remove the danger of Indian attacks.

Although the expedition under Colonel John Armstrong in 1756 to the Indian town of Kittanning on the Allegheny River and its destruction served to break the Indian power temporarily, and although some protection was afforded to the frontier by the companies that were stationed at the various frontier forts, the counties of Cumberland, Berks, Northampton, and Lancaster continued to suffer from the incursion of marauding bands of Indians during 1757 and part of 1758. In the summer and fall of the latter year the expedition of General John Forbes that led to the break-up of French power in western Pennsylvania by the destruction of Fort Duquesne removed one of the main factors inciting the Indians to prey upon the English frontier settlements in Pennsylvania.[18] And the purchase from the Indians in 1758 of the land extending to the western bounds of the present counties of Bedford and Blair temporarily removed another grievance which the Indians had against the English invaders. Presbyterians and other frontier settlers began to reclaim the lands from which they had been driven by the Indians.

But reclamation of the lands had not gone on very long before another Indian outbreak threatened the quiet of the frontier settlements. In 1763 the storm, known as Pontiac's Conspiracy, broke upon the unprotected inhabitants of the frontier. Again the "fighting Parson," John Elder, and Colonel John Armstrong came to the defense of the frontier with their followers and appealed to the governor of the province to provide adequate protection for the frontier inhabitants. The Reverend John Elder in Lancaster County and Colonel John Armstrong in Cumberland County recruited companies from the inhabitants for the defense of the frontier.[19] In August 1763, the serious threat to the safety of the frontier

[18] W. H. Egle, *History of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania,* pp. 97–98.
[19] *Pennsylvania Archives* (1st. series), IV, 127, 132–133, 137, 146–147.

inhabitants was removed when the strength of the Indians from the vicinity of Fort Pitt was broken in the battle of Bushy Run by the strategy of Colonel Henry Bouquet.

THE THREAT OF THE FRONTIER

But in spite of Bouquet's victory the danger was not completely removed because the Assembly did not take adequate steps to safeguard the frontier settlements from the sporadic attacks of Indian squads that unexpectedly appeared and attacked the defenseless settlers in the fields or in their cabins along the northern and western frontiers. Furthermore the fact that the government permitted groups of the Delaware tribe and of the Conestoga Indians within the bounds of the white settlements proved to be a source of irritation to the frontiersmen. These Indians professed to be friendly to the white man and declared that they would not take up arms. The frontiersmen began to question the sincerity of some of these Indians because it was believed that some of the attacks were the result of information supplied by those Indians who were under the protection of the government that procrastinated in meeting adequately and promptly the needs of the frontier inhabitants.[20] The uprising of the "Paxtang Boys" came as a protest both to the dilatory practice of the government in relieving the frontier and to the policy of maintaining the Indians at Conestoga under the patronage of the provincial authorities who, in the words of Lazarus Stewart, the leader of the Paxtang Boys and a Presbyterian elder, were "more solicitous for the welfare of the bloodthirsty Indian than for the lives of the frontiersmen. In their blind partiality, bigotry and political prejudice, they would not readily accede to the demands of those of a different religious faith. Especially was this the case relative to the Presbyterians and Roman Catho-

[20] Root, *op. cit.*, pp. 326, 328.

lics, both of whom were tolerated by mere sufferance." [21]

The perpetrators of the killing of the Indians on Conestoga Manor and subsequently of those in Lancaster cannot be excused, because it savored too much of lawlessness. This wholesale massacre of the Indians involved the innocent as well as the guilty. That the guilty were among these Indians under the protection of the provincial government was established to the satisfaction of the Paxtang Rangers on the rumor that scouts had traced some Indians, guilty of making raids on the white settlements, to the settlement of the Conestoga Indians and to that of the Moravian Indians in Northampton County. The savagery of Indian attacks in and around Paxtang, coupled with the belief that the so-called friendly Indians at Conestoga were involved, prompted the Reverend John Elder, now ranked as colonel, to write as follows to Governor Hamilton in September, 1763: "I suggest to you the propriety of an immediate removal of the Indians from Conestoga and placing a garrison in their room. In case this is done, I pledge myself for the future security of the frontiers." [22] Other appeals for precautionary steps by the government proved futile, although Governor Penn admitted that some of the Indians under the protection of the government were "concerned in committing murders among the back settlers," and the authorities refused to do otherwise on the grounds that "the faith of this government is pledged for their protection." [23]

The Reverend John Elder, upon learning of the intended raid upon the Conestoga Indians, remonstrated with the Paxtang Rangers, but to no avail. So intent were the Paxtang group to exterminate these Indians that they killed those on Conestoga Manor, and a little later others who were living in a workhouse in Lancaster were killed when they offered to

[21] *Historical Review of Dauphin County*, p. 47.
[22] Quoted by Egle, *op. cit.*, p. 111.
[23] *Historical Review of Dauphin County*, pp. 52–53; Egle, *ibid.*, p. 111.

resist the rangers. Both John Elder and John Armstrong, two Presbyterians who had done so much in the defense of the frontier, regarded the act as one of "barbarity" and "butchery." [24] Attempts to seize the offenders proved futile because many of the frontiersmen, regarding the act of the rangers as proper retaliation, refused to aid the provincial authorities in their endeavor to round up the murderers of the Indians. Meetings in which the provincial authorities were condemned were held in Lancaster, Berks, and Northampton counties.

Acting under the necessity of impressing the authorities with the seriousness of the situation, the frontier communities selected individuals to go to Philadelphia in order to obtain redress of grievances and protection. The enthusiasm was so great that a large number of "back inhabitants" assembled and in the early part of 1764 began a march on Philadelphia, where the Moravian Indians were under provincial protection. Fearful that there would be a repetition of the happenings in Lancaster, the authorities raised a large force to repel what was regarded as an invasion. Even the Quakers put aside their religious scruples to aid in this defense against this frontiersmen's invasion. When the frontiersmen arrived at Germantown, they were met by commissioners who took two of their number before the Governor and the Assembly with their grievances. In the memorial presented in behalf of the inhabitants of the frontier counties of Lancaster, York, Cumberland, Berks, and Northampton, and subsequently sustained by another which contained fifteen hundred signatures, the complaint was against the policy of the government in maintaining the inequality of representation between the eastern and the frontier counties and in the handling of the Indian affairs which worked to the disadvantage of those who suffered from Indian attacks. After the rioters had been persuaded to disband, the Assembly, instead of removing the causes of grievance, proceeded to prosecute the so-called murderers in spite

[24] *Pennsylvania Archives* (1st. series), IV, 148, 152.

of the fact that there was a growing opposition to the policy of the government, which in time forced the authorities to give up the idea of prosecuting the offenders.[25]

The circumstances developing on the frontier as a result of the Indian problem had carried the frontiersmen to the point where the issue had become a political one. In view of the fact that there were other than Scotch-Irish Presbyterian settlers in these five frontier counties it is not advisable to regard this movement against the established authorities as solely a Presbyterian movement to the exclusion of a large group of German settlers. But since the impelling force was Presbyterian and the majority of the supporters of the frontier cause were Presbyterians, the movement assumed the character of being chiefly a Presbyterian one. The Reverend Hugh Neill, of the Church of England at Oxford, termed it "the political squabble that is now on foot between the Quakers and Presbyterians." [26] The cause of the frontiersmen received such widespread support that the governor took up the popular cause in the summer of 1764 by issuing a proclamation that, complying with one of the demands of the petitioners, offered a reward for Indian scalps as an incentive to carry the war into the Indian territory.[27]

DENOMINATIONAL INFLUENCES IN POLITICAL AFFAIRS

In this same decade other issues appeared to intensify the political struggle between the Presbyterians and Quakers. The resistance of the proprietors to the Assembly's attempt to tax the proprietary estates produced a cleavage within provincial politics of which the Presbyterians were not slow to take advantage. The Reverend Hugh Neill, in commenting on the

[25] Egle, *op. cit.*, pp. 114–122; C. H. Lincoln, *The Revolutionary Movement in Pennsylvania,* pp. 111–113; Hanna, *The Scotch-Irish,* I, 61–62; Smyth, ed., *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin,* X, 216–217.

[26] W. S. Perry, ed., *American Colonial Church Records,* II, 360.

[27] Lincoln, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

state of the province, remarked that "these disputes have set the Quakers and the Assembly upon using all their interest to procure a general petition from the Inhabitants of this province to His Majesty praying him to take this Government immediately under his care; the Presbyterians using all their interest to oppose it." [28] The Presbyterian clergy in Philadelphia and elsewhere became active in the interests of the proprietors by their exhortations from the pulpit and by means of circular letters, by which methods they endeavored to deter Presbyterians from petitioning for a royal government. The controversy had become so intense by October 1764, that the Reverend Hugh Neill stated:

> The difficulties that the missionaries of Pennsylvania have been reduced to within this twelve months past, with regard to politics, cannot be parallel'd in any other province in America. The murder of the Indians, in defiance of the Government at Lancaster; the Presbyterian Rebellion; and the disputes about taxing the proprietary Estate; caused the assembly to hand about the petitions in the country in order to be sent to the King to be taken under his immediate protection. The Governor, with all the Presbyterian clergy in the province, joined with the Church clergy in Town, sent about counter petitions to be also signed by the Inhabitants to be sent to His Majesty to tell him we did not want his protection. . . . This [the decision not to take sides in the political controversy] we thought the most prudent step, when the Presbyterian ministers, with some others, held Synods about the election, turned their pulpits into Ecclesiastical drums for politics and told their people to vote according as they directed them at the peril of their damnation—what difficulties might not an agent, with such unlimited powers, lay us under at such a time, if he was actuated by a spirit of party, or domination over his Brethren? [29]

Although this statement of the part that Presbyterians were playing in the political activities of the province may seem like an exaggeration, the Presbyterians did take a decided stand in

[28] Perry, ed., *op. cit.*, II, 361.
[29] *Ibid.*, II, 364–365.

this affair that involved the change of government. In order to avert an action that would not increase the political freedom within the province but would more likely abridge it, a circular letter was sent out among Presbyterians in the early part of 1764. The Presbyterians of Philadelphia were responsible for this circular letter at a time when the Provincial Assembly adjourned in order that the members might obtain advice from their constituents as to whether or not an address for the transfer of the province to the crown should be drawn up. The Presbyterian circular letter expressed the fear that such action would abridge the rights of the inhabitants. Since the plan had not been proposed in the Quaker meeting nor approved by the heads of the society, the circular letter claimed that the affair was a trap "to ensnare the unwary, and then to cast an odium on the Presbyterians for ruining, or attempting to ruin, the province," and a move to divert the inhabitants of the frontier from "prosecuting their petitions" for a redress of grievances. The letter, signed by three Presbyterian ministers, Gilbert Tennent, Francis Alison, and John Ewing, closed with the recommendation "to lose no time in advising all under your influence, whether of our denominations or others, not to sign any such petition." [30]

A contemporary, commenting on the strength of Presbyterians in the fall election of 1764 in Philadelphia, stated that it was one of the warmest and closest "ever known here," that the Presbyterian Party had employed various methods and artifices to obtain the votes, and that the Presbyterian ministers had taken a more active part in the election than ever before.[31] This concerted action by Presbyterians in Philadelphia at this time may have arisen out of an earlier movement to form a closer union among themselves "to act as a Body, with Unanimity and Harmony, &c." The supporters of this

[30] Jared Sparks, ed., *Works of Benjamin Franklin,* VII, 282.

[31] "Extracts from the Letter-Book of Benjamin Marshall, 1763–1766," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* XX, 207–208.

movement proposed the formation of committees of Presbyterian clergymen and laymen, "the most prudent and public spirited Persons in the Province and three Lower Counties" to correspond with other committees within the denomination and to have yearly or half-yearly meetings. The plan designated the last Tuesday of August 1764, as the first appointed time of meeting in either Philadelphia or Lancaster.[32]

Benjamin Franklin, who had been chosen to present the petition for the transfer of the province from the proprietors to the crown, in writing from London on February 14, 1765, to John Ross stated that the Quakers in England who had undertaken the task of inducing the proprietors of Pennsylvania to submit to the change would bring pressure if they were obdurate, "to procure a happy event to the petition, especially as they dread nothing more than what they see otherwise inevitable, their friends in Pennsylvania falling totally under the domination of Presbyterians." [33] This crisis which helped to consolidate Presbyterian political activity passed without the proprietors' loss of the province.

The activity of various groups of Presbyterians, including the Paxtang Boys who continued their operations on the frontier in a manner displeasing to their opponents, prompted one commentator, George Roberts, to say that "the heads of the Kirk tollerate these proceedings and from the opinion I have of their tenets, had I any number of children, I would sooner bring them up to the implicit belief of the Alcoran, than make them Pennsylvania Presbyterians, for I believe no group of mortals under Heaven merit the curse pronounced in Scripture against the 'stiff-necked and rebellious' as this people. . . ." [34] Such a severe indictment against the connivance of Presbyterian ministers at the disorderliness of Presbyterians must be modified by the fact that this was a movement char-

[32] Quoted by C. A. Hanna, *The Scotch-Irish,* II, 5.

[33] Sparks, *op. cit.,* IV, 361–362.

[34] "Powel-Roberts Correspondence, 1761–1765," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* XVIII, 41.

acterized by the growing force of democracy. The growing influence of Presbyterians was no hallucination.

PRESBYTERIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO ORDERLY POLITICAL ACTIVITY

Just as sessions and presbyteries in Pennsylvania sought to order the religious and social life of the Presbyterians of that day, so the Presbyterian ministers endeavored to guide the members of their congregations to be law-abiding citizens. The attempt of the Reverend John Elder to divert the Paxtang Rangers from their plan to take the law in their own hands by their punitive expedition against the Conestoga Indians has already been cited. Recourse to arms, tumults, and riots as a means of voicing their opposition to authority had been practised by Presbyterians in Ireland and was not discarded when they established themselves in the colonies. When the mobs gathered in the valley of Conococheague Creek to march upon Carlisle in order to release Colonel James Smith, it was a Presbyterian minister, John King, who opposed such disorderliness and exhorted his congregation to be obedient to the law and the magistrates as a Christian duty. He claimed that if there existed a need for opposing authorities

> . . . which may sometimes happen in any government, such opposition ought to be made in a quiet, peaceable, and lawful manner, and not by force of arms, tumults, and riots, and the like. This is choosing the worst way, for no other reason but because it is the worst; for oppression itself will not justify opposition by force, until all milder measures have failed—much less is it justifiable when the circumstances of the case do not require it.
>
> . . . It is a story in the mouths of those who may be called our political adversaries, that the Presbyterians are disaffected towards the government, and that their teachers instruct them so; and thus, though it is a charge upon that people in general, yet it comes sideways upon the ministers. And therefore I take this occasion publicly to declare

my abhorrence and detestation of such riotous conduct, and most earnestly exhort and warn all those that hear me to abstain from it, and to avoid all those who do by any means encourage practices so destructive to the peace and good order of society—nay, so reproachful to human nature.[35]

In keeping with such expressions for obedience to local authorities the Synod of New York and Philadelphia called upon Presbyterians to be obedient and loyal to the mother country, and presented addresses to the king to that effect. But in 1766 another address was sent to the king as a result of "the joyful occasion of the repeal of the Stamp Act, and thereby a confirmation of our liberties." [36] This action by the Synod left no doubt as to its position at a time when the liberties of the people were endangered. At this same meeting of the Synod a pastoral letter was prepared for the purpose of calling the people to a closer walk with God, the need of which was apparent from the experiences at the hand of the French, Indians, and in "the imposition of unusual taxes, a severe restriction of our trade, and an almost total stagnation of business" that threatened to be calamitous. The letter concluded with the following admonition:

While we thus call upon you to fear God, you will not forget to honour your king, and pay a due submission to his august parliament. Let this fresh instance of royal clemency increase the ardour of your affection to the person, family and government, of our rightful and gracious sovereign. This you will manifest by a cheerful and ready obedience to civil authority. A spirit of liberty is highly laudable when under proper regulations, but we hope you will carefully distinguish between liberty and licentiousness.

We most earnestly recommend it to you to encourage and strengthen the hands of government, to demonstrate on every proper occasion your undissembled love for your mother country, and your

[35] Quoted by Nevin in *Churches of the Valley,* pp. 83–89.
[36] *Records of the Presbyterian Church,* pp. 360–361.

attachment to her true interest, so inseparably connected with our own.[37]

The events of the following nine years increased the grievances of the colonists against the mother country to such an extent that in May 1775 the Synod issued another pastoral letter bearing on the threatening crisis. After indicating the inevitability of a conflict if "the British ministry shall continue to enforce their claims by violence," the letter continued: "Let therefore, every one, who from generosity of spirit, or benevolence of heart, offers himself as a champion in his country's cause, be persuaded to reverence the name, and walk in the fear of the Prince of the kings of the earth, and then he may, with the most unshaken firmness, expect the issue either in victory or death." It recommended respect and reverence for King George, attachment and respect for "the revolution principles by which his august family was seated on the British throne," the maintenance of the union of the colonies, watchfulness over their moral life, regard for order and public peace, payment of just debts, "a spirit of humanity and mercy" particularly for those who were to be called to the conflict, and devotion in the exercise of those gifts that foster the spiritual life.[38]

AN ECONOMIC GRIEVANCE OF FRONTIER PRESBYTERIANS

As the settlers moved farther westward into the wilderness country, the means of contact with the older centers became more and more difficult because of the lack of adequate transportation facilities. In time the fruit of their labors provided the farmers with products, such as wheat, flour, beef, pork, lumber, furs, etc., for purposes of trade. In the case of the farmers in the counties of York, Cumberland, and the western portions of Lancaster, poor means of transportation made the shipment of these products to Philadelphia a perplexing prob-

[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 362–363.
[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 466–469.

lem. It was not until 1739, after four years of agitation, that steps for a road from Philadelphia to Harris's Ferry were taken by the provincial authorities. In 1749 the Conestoga road from Philadelphia to Lancaster, the Paxton road to Harris's Ferry, and the road from the ferry to Shippensburg were the only main connections with the eastern part of the province.[39]

Numerous petitions for improved means of transportation in the middle of the century failed to arouse the Assembly to action. Agitation for a new road from Lancaster to Philadelphia in 1766 even failed to impress the Assembly with the importance of maintaining the link with the western counties for purposes of trade. An article in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* complained that the province reaped no benefit from "those fertile and extensive counties" and placed the blame upon the "extravagant price of ferriage, and the extreme badness and length of the roads leading from the *Susquehanna* to the city." [40] To the grievances of inequality in representation and of inadequate protection from Indian attacks a new cause of complaint was added because the taxes, paid by the farmers of the frontier counties to the eastern oligarchy, were not being used to improve transportation for the benefit of the frontier settlers.

The failure on the part of the provincial government to provide adequate facilities for transporting their products to Philadelphia prompted the farmers of the aforesaid counties to ship their goods down the Susquehanna River to Baltimore to increase the trade for that market. Benjamin Franklin remarked that "the growing trade of Baltimore—drawn principally from our Province west of the Susquehanna—alarms us." [41] By 1770 the course of trade from the central and western sections of Pennsylvania was southward. No less than

[39] Morris K. Turner, *The Commercial Relations of the Susquehanna Valley during the Colonial Period* (Abstract), p. 34.

[40] *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, January 26, 1767.

[41] Quoted by Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

eight main roads crossed the Pennsylvania-Maryland line from Harris's Ferry, Carlisle, Shippensburg, and York—the chief centers of trade on the frontier.[42]

When it dawned upon the merchant interests of the eastern counties that the trade of the western counties was being handled by the Marylanders, some effort was put forth to provide means for obtaining this trade for Philadelphia. Proposals for the improvement of the roads leading to the Susquehanna River, for the betterment of navigation on the Schuylkill River, and for the development of a system of canals were made. The Assembly, awakening to the importance of this trade, passed some measures for the improvement of the rivers in the early part of the seventeen-seventies; but unfortunately the appropriations were not adequate for carrying out the plan. In 1775 the Assembly again voted favorably by appropriating twelve thousand pounds to repair all the roads of the province.[43] But further development was delayed by the outbreak of the War for Independence.

SUMMARY

When the New England colonists surrendered their Presbyterian background for the Congregational form of Church government,[44] the middle colonies became the field of opportunity for Presbyterian development. What had been regarded in the first decade of the eighteenth century as an unpromising religious movement in Pennsylvania became one of the most powerful, if not the most powerful, in that colony by the close of the colonial era. The reason for this remarkable growth in a Quaker colony within sixty years is to be found in the Scotch-Irish immigration. Before the Scotch-Irish came to the province, the Presbyterian congregations numbered about

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 38.
[43] C. H. Lincoln, *op. cit.*, pp. 57 f.; Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
[44] V. L. Parrington, *The Colonial Mind, 1620–1800*, pp. 23, 54.

four. But by the close of the colonial era that number had been multiplied many times.

As a result of the custom of using different names at various periods to refer to people in the same area, and because of the habit of naming newly settled regions with names used in the older centers, it is difficult to identify some of the places with any degree of finality.[45] However, in the period covered by this study approximately one hundred and forty distinct Presbyterian settlements arose. This rapid expansion was chiefly due to the numerical strength and aggressiveness of the Scotch-Irish. These well-known characteristics created numerous problems for the Pennsylvania authorities, especially in the settlement of land and in Indian relations. The need for a means of livelihood prompted many of these people to settle upon lands to which they had no legal claim. Others who applied for permission to settle upon certain lands found the machinery of government too slow to suit the pressing demands. So they likewise became squatters. And still others found themselves confronted with conflicting claims.

Although the provincial authorities found it necessary to take deliberate action to remove the squatters, Scotch-Irish, Palatinates, and other nationals, when they encroached upon lands of others, or threatened the peace of the colony by encroachments on Indian lands, it must not be overlooked that these people were encouraged to take up lands on the frontier in order to protect the older settlements and to keep the Mary-

[45] Settlements and congregations were usually named by the stream along which the people settled or by the township. The Deep Run settlement was also known as Plumstead after the township; the New Londonderry congregation was also Faggs Manor; Shrewsbury, Hopewell, and Round Hill were names given at various times to a settlement of Presbyterians in York County when there was a Presbyterian settlement at Round Hill in Adams County of today. It is not always clear what Round Hill is referred to when mentioned in the minutes. The use of the same name in identifying creeks and townships in various sections of Pennsylvania, as in the case of Muddy Creek, Fishing Creek, Tyrone township, and many others, presents a difficulty in identification when no specific designation is made in the minutes of presbyteries. Hence it is impossible to make specific claims in a number of instances. But in the majority of cases identification is possible.

landers and Virginians from settling on Pennsylvania soil; especially in the Conococheague area and the region between the Kittatinny hills and Licking Creek hills—areas that had not been purchased from the Indians.[46] Although the authorities realized the danger involved by encroachment upon unpurchased Indian lands, they could not be oblivious to the advantage that would be gained by permitting the frontiersmen to settle in the areas exposed to invaders from Maryland and Virginia. On the other hand, when the occasion arose to warn settlers from certain areas, some of the most active participants were Presbyterians.[47]

As the communities inhabited by Presbyterians became stabilized, the occasion was opened for more active participation in provincial affairs. Therefore, when the proprietors were in danger of losing the province in the early seventeen-sixties, the Presbyterians actively championed their cause by petitions. The failure of the Provincial Assembly to furnish adequate protection for the frontier, to remove the disparity in representation and taxation, and to provide from this taxation improved means of transportation for the frontier inhabitants, prompted the Presbyterian Party to enter the political arena as the Quakers withdrew. And in the opposition that arose over British taxation of the colonists and the establishment of Episcopacy the Presbyterians were the most outspoken as the conflict with England threatened.

[46] Penn Manuscripts, Pennsylvania Land Grants, Vol. 9, 255. Following the encroachment of some Marylanders into the Conococheague area the proprietors of Pennsylvania "gave a power to M^{r} Sam^{l} Blunston then Prothonotary of Lancaster County to grant Lycenses to such as would go and settle on Lands in that part of their province where those attempts were making—with an assurance that such as did Bona Fide settle and improve the Lands should on their future application have regular Warrants and Patents out of the Land Office for them." On this grant of power Blunston gave a license to Andrew Dunlap in September 1734 and to John Black in February 1734/5 in the Conococheague area. Richard Peters, Letter Books, 1737–1750, No. 5.

[47] James Logan relied upon the endeavors of Andrew Galbraith, a Presbyterian elder, to check squatters. Logan Papers, Letter Books, IV, 215, 228. And the Reverend John Steel served the government in 1768 by warning the settlers along the Redstone Creek and the Youghiogheny River to withdraw. *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania,* IX, 486, 506–510.

In the present age the struggle engaged in by these people for a material existence and for political dominance can quite well be understood as growing out of the needs of the time. But the religious developments are not quite so tangible in an age that sees denominationalism passing from the rigid bounds of former days. Although the term "Presbyterian" came to play an important part in the political life of colonial Pennsylvania, it must not be forgotten that the term had definite religious implications and that Christianity was a force for righteousness in human society. Certain channels of human activity were possible "to glorify God and enjoy him for ever." In the first stages of settlement the exercise of religious devotion was restricted to the family. But it was not long until the combination of the family units led to the formation of congregations in order to provide the means for spreading the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The congregations, furthermore, provided the opportunity for these people to exercise some of the Christian graces in the support of educational, charitable, and missionary projects. And finally, in the regulation of an unbridled society on the frontier, sessions and presbyteries did much to maintain peace and order before the civil authority could effectively exercise its control.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

INTRODUCTION

In the presentation of a bibliography for a work on Presbyterians in Colonial Pennsylvania it is needful to comment upon a decided handicap that confronts one working in this field as a result of the loss of many of the minutes of sessions of Presbyterian congregations. Although it became the practice for the various sessions to keep records of the business transacted, many of these records are not available because they have been lost through negligence, or destroyed by fire. As a result of these losses some phases of the activities of local congregations are missing. However, those records that have escaped the ravages of the past and are available to the investigator throw considerable light on the character of the problems that the sessions had to handle within congregations.

In view of the paucity of local church records the search for manuscript material must be carried to a field that has proved far more productive; namely, the minutes of the various presbyteries and the synods of the Presbyterian Church in Pennsylvania. This source of information, although not continuous in every instance because of an occasional hiatus, provides abundant information not only of the work of the higher judicatures of the Presbyterian Church, but also of conditions that arose within the various congregations over which the presbyteries exercised jurisdiction. Hence these sources of information have been drawn upon quite heavily.

To supplement this material certain collections of manuscript letters, chiefly secular in character, have been used to furnish information about Presbyterians in the province of Pennsylvania. Hence in conjunction with the religious records this correspondence of individuals who were thrown into contact with Presbyterians as a result of circumstances, or were themselves members of that denomination, has helped to fill in certain phases of Presbyterian history.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL GUIDES

No adequate bibliographical guide exists for following the activities of Presbyterians in this period of that denomination's history. The card catalogue of accessions that is kept by the Department of History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America is quite a comprehensive index of material bearing upon the history of Presbyterians. In volume eight of the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* (March, 1915) there appears "A Catalogue of Manuscript Records in the Possession of the Presbyterian Historical Society" by Joseph Brown Turner. The Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath-School Work has published a *Presbyteriana: A List of Books Treating of Presbyterian History, Polity, Doctrines and Standards . . .* (Philadelphia, 1902). W. H. Allison, comp., *Inventory of Unpublished Materials for American Religious History* (Washington, 1911), and P. G. Mode, ed., *Source Book and Bibliographical Guide for American Church History* (Menasha, 1921) are serviceable for certain phases of Presbyterian history in Pennsylvania.

General bibliographies, such as Edward Channing, A. B. Hart, and F. J. Turner, eds., *Guide to the Study and Reading of American History* (Boston, 1912); A. P. C. Griffin, comp., *Bibliography of American Historical Societies* (American Historical Association, *Annual Report* for 1905, II); and the *Writings on American History* (New York, 1904–1930, in progress) contain material bearing on Presbyterian history for the period covered by this study. William Crawford Armor, "Scotch-Irish Bibliography of Pennsylvania," (The Scotch-Irish in America, *Proceedings and Addresses of the Eighth Congress*, Harrisburg, 1896), should be consulted since the Scotch-Irish played such an important rôle in the Presbyterian Church. The bibliography compiled for the American Council of Learned Societies, *Report of Committee on Linguistic and National Stocks in the Population of the United States* (American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1931, Vol. I) contains a well-selected list of titles for a study that must consider the different national groups which settled within Pennsylvania.

GEOGRAPHICAL AIDS

In this study it has been needful to locate many place names within the bounds of Pennsylvania. This need arose as a result of the fact that most of the references in the minutes of the presbyteries referred to the streams along which these people settled. To locate these streams and place names, gazetteers and many maps have been consulted for identification of the places. A most valuable aid for identifying the streams of Pennsylvania is the *Water Resources Inventory Report. Part III: Gazetteer of Streams* (Harrisburg, 1917) prepared by the Water Supply Commission of Pennsylvania. This work contains information, such as location by county, drainage, area, etc., of 4,419 named streams in Pennsylvania. For a careful historical summary of places bearing Indian names with the various forms of spelling the names, George P. Donehoo, *A History of the Indian Villages and Place Names in Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1928) is exceedingly serviceable. Abraham Howry Espenshade, *Pennsylvania Place Names* (Harrisburg, 1925) includes names of European as well as Indian origin, and also contains a valuable bibliography of Pennsylvania county histories. Although Thomas F. Gordon, *A Gazetteer of the State of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1832) is older than the above-mentioned works, it contains helpful information.

For definitely locating the places mentioned in the minutes of the presbyteries there are the numerous county maps along with W. Scull's "The Map of the Province of Pennsylvania" (Philadelphia, 1770), P. W. Sheafer's *Historical Map of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1875), and "A Map of Pennsylvania Improved Part and Frontiers from Surveys and from Scull's Map of 1770." A map of even greater value for locating the streams of Pennsylvania is the "Stream Map of Pennsylvania," issued by the Sanitary Water Board and Water and Power Resources Board of Pennsylvania (Harrisburg, 1930). The Topographic Maps of the State of Pennsylvania by the United States Geological Survey, showing the streams, hills, and mountains as well as towns, cities, roads, and railroads, are indispensable.

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

A. Local Records

As has already been indicated, the supply of local church records, especially the minutes of sessions, is restricted to a limited number. A decidedly helpful source of information is available in the Records of the Session of New Londonderry Congregation, 1740–1793, also called Old Londonderry, or Faggs Manor. Parts of this record also appear as "Records of Old Londonderry Congregation, Now Faggs Manor, Chester Co., Pa." in the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, VIII, pp. 343–379. An additional aid is a Financial Record of New Londonderry Congregation, 1754–1781. Equally important are the following: Mem[a] Made From the Book of Minutes of 1st Presbyterian Church [Philadelphia] Beginning May 1, 1747 & Ending 22d July 1772 (also printed in the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, III, 179–181); Extracts from the Records of the Second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, 1743–1797; and the Sessional Records of Tinicum Presbyterian Church, Bucks Co., Pa., 1768–1837.

A miscellaneous amount of manuscript material which contains some helpful information is: Declaration of Trust, Johannes Vandergrift &c. to The Presbyterian Meeting in Bensalem; a Subscription List for Pastor's Salary, of the Bensalem Presbyterian Church, 1769–1804; Documents relating to the early history of the Carlisle Presbyterian Churches; Patent to James Anderson and others for use of Donegal Presbyterian Church for 200 acres in Lancaster Co., June 24, 1740; Deed from Thomas and Richard Penn to the trustees of the Lower West Conococheague Presbyterian Church, 1767; Land Patent, Survey, Petition, and Charter of the Muddy Run (Pa.) United Presbyterian Church; List of pewholders in the old log church of Rocky Spring Presbyterian Church; and tombstone inscriptions of Derry Presbyterian Church, of Chestnut Level, etc.

B. Presbyterial Records

The most valuable source material for a study on Presbyterians in Colonial Pennsylvania is the minutes of the various presbyteries that

exercised control within the bounds of Pennsylvania. The earliest presbyterial record available consists of the Minutes of the Presbytery at Philadelphia, 1706–1716, which also appears in the *Records of the Presbyterian Church.* Unfortunately the loss of the Minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia from 1717 to 1732 veils the growth of the Presbyterian congregations within the bounds of the Philadelphia Presbytery in obscurity in one of the significant periods of development. Other records of this presbytery available for this period are: the Minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, 1733–1746; *ibid.*, 1758–1781; and the Letter Book of the Presbytery at Philadelphia, 1708–1720, the contents of which appear in the footnotes of the *Records of the Presbyterian Church.* The Minutes of the Second Presbytery of Philadelphia, 1762–1771, are also obtainable.

The Scotch-Irish Presbyterian immigration to Pennsylvania is covered by an invaluable record recently discovered in private hands but now in the possession of the Department of History of the Presbyterian Church in U. S. A. This record contains the Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, 1717–1731, and is available in printed form in the *Journal of the Department of History of the Presbyterian Church in U. S. A.*, XIV, XV.

These minutes cover the important period of Presbyterian expansion along the southern Pennsylvania border to the Susquehanna River and the extension of congregations along the tributaries of that river. But it is not until 1759 that the history of this presbytery is again resumed in manuscript form in the Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle, 1759–1773. And the next volume includes the period from 1774 to 1795. For the development of Presbyterian congregations on the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware River some parts of the minutes of the Presbytery of New Brunswick established in 1738 appear in the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, VI, VII; and the Minutes of the Presbytery of Abington, 1752–1758, continue the story until the remodeling of presbyteries in 1758, when the members of Abington Presbytery were included in the Presbytery of Philadelphia.

The major source of information for following the Presbyterian expansion from the Susquehanna River westward during the colonial period is to be found in the Minutes of the Presbytery of Donegal in

three volumes: Vol. I from 1732 to 1750; Vol. II from 1759 to 1769; and Vol. III from 1770 to 1777. Once more a break in the continuity of the records occurs for the years 1745 to 1747 and 1751 to 1758 as a result of the loss of the minutes. But fortunately the records are available for the years of expansion following the French and Indian War and Pontiac's Conspiracy. During the brief period of 1765–1766 when the Carlisle Presbytery supplanted a large portion of the Presbytery of Donegal, the minutes were kept in the minute book of the Presbytery of Donegal, 1759–1769. The Minutes of the Synod of Philadelphia, 1717–1758, of the Synod of New York, 1745–1758, and of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, 1758–1788, in manuscript, are more conveniently available in the *Records of the Presbyterian Church* (Philadelphia, 1841, 1852, 1904).

C. Miscellaneous Manuscript Material

An important collection of manuscript material bearing on the history of the different religious groups is the Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, American Colonial Clergy, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Some valuable letters containing comments on the course of Presbyterian activity are included in the manuscript collection of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (Library of Congress Transcripts).

Material of a different character, since it contains information concerning Scotch-Irish Presbyterians from the point of view of the colonial authorities, is available in the Logan Papers, Logan Letter Books, in four volumes covering the years from 1701 to 1734. These volumes contain invaluable information upon the activities of emigrants from Ulster as they established themselves in the province. Other material of an official character available but not as informative of Presbyterian activity is: Letter Book of James Logan, 1717–1731; Penn Manuscripts, Autograph Petitions, 1681–1764 (Vol. XII); Penn Manuscripts, Forbes Collection (Vol. II). Richard Peters, Letter Books, 1737–1759, provide information concerning the difficulties experienced with squatters west of the Susquehanna. The Lamberton Scotch-Irish Collection, 2 vols., has some information of Presbyterian activity in colonial Pennsylvania. All these sources are in the Manuscript Department of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Some additional source material of lesser importance for a work such as this are: Journal of Rev. James Sproat, D.D., 1753–1786; Diary of Rev. John Cuthbertson, 1751–1791 (a typewritten copy of the original was consulted for this study); Letters of John Cuthbertson to relatives in Scotland, 1770, with other letters and papers to ministers of the Reformed Presbyterian Church; Autobiography of Samuel Finley; Ebenezer Hazard's Notes on history of Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., in three parts, 1698–1771.

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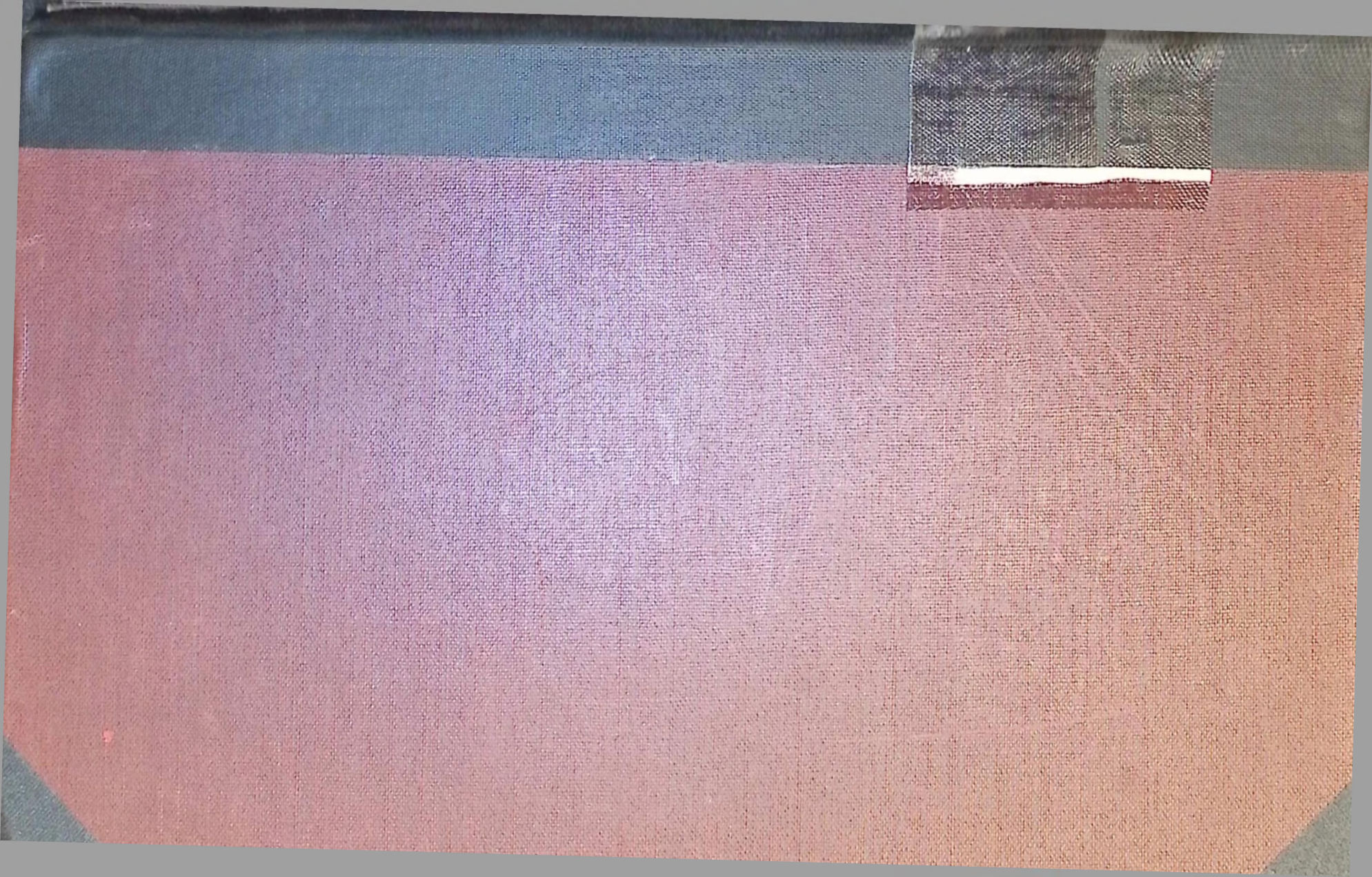
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